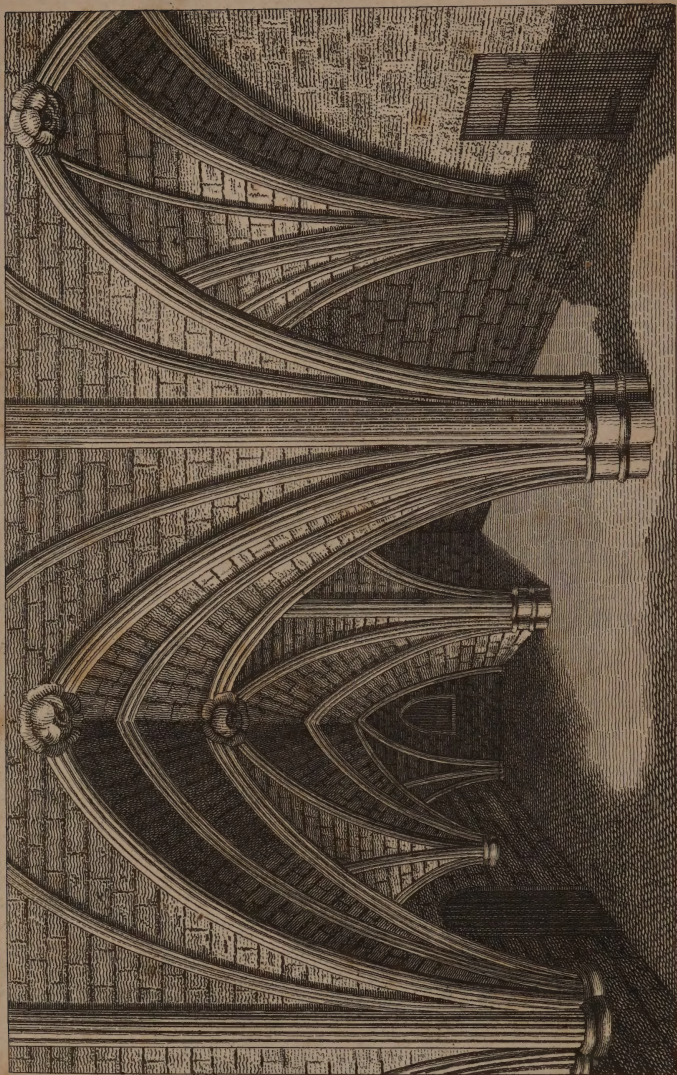


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CHURCH ST.

Remains of St. Michael's Chapel, Aldgate.

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THE
HISTORY
AND
ANTIQUITIES
OF
LONDON.

BY THOMAS PENNANT, ESQ.

A NEW EDITION,
IN TWO VOLUMES,
ILLUSTRATED WITH FORTY-ONE PLATES,

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THE

HISTORY

HISTORY

AND

ANATOMY

1675

LONDON



HISTORY

OF

LONDON.

A CURIOUS investigator of antiquities hath lately recovered the beautiful little chapel of St. Michael, near Aldgate, under the house of Mr. Relph, in Leadenhall-street*. It is supposed to have been built by prior Norman, about the year 1108, in the Gothic architecture. Its dimensions are forty-eight by sixteen; and is built with square pieces of chalk. The arches are very elegant, supported by ribs, which converge, and meet on the capitals of the pillars, which are now nearly buried in the earth; but are supposed to be covered with sixteen feet of soil. The whole addition of soil, since its foundation, is supposed to have been twenty-six feet; an amazing increase, which

* Gentleman's Magazine, April 1789, 293, tab. i.

might almost occasion one to suspect it to have been the sub-chapel of some now-lost church.

The church of St. James, Duke's Place, rose out of the ruins of this priory, in the time of James I. and the mayoralty of sir Edward Barkham.

Ealdgate, or *Aldgate*, which signifies *Old Gate*, stands in the place where the wall forms an angle, and takes a southerly direction, and terminated in a postern near Tower-hill. It was one of the four principal gates; the Roman road passed under it, so one must have existed on the site in the earliest times. It was also one of the seven that had double doors, as was evident by the hinges, which existed in the time of Stow. Mention is made of it in the reign of Edgar, by the name of *Ealdgate*. In the fierce wars between king John and his barons, the latter entered the city through this gate, and committed great ravages among the houses of the religious. Their chieftains repaired, or rather re-built Aldgate, after the Norman manner; and made use of stone brought from Caen, and a small brick called the Flanders tile, which probably has been often mistaken for Roman. This gate was of great strength, and had a deep well within.

In 1471, the Bastard Falconbridge, at the head of five thousand riotous people, attacked the city on this side, won this gate, and forced a way in for a few of his forces; but, the portcullis being let down, they were all slain. The valiant alderman of the ward, and the recorder, ordered it to be drawn up, and sallying forth, defeated the Bastard with great slaughter. In 1606 this gate was taken down and re-built, under the care of Martin Bond, afore-mentioned: as a proof of its antiquity, many Roman coins were found among the foundations.

Immediately without the gate, is the church of *St. Botolph's, Aldgate*. This is one of four dedicated, in London, to this favourite saint. In it is the vault of the Darcies, of the north; and the tomb of Thomas lord Darcie, knight of the garter; with his figure on it, representing him asleep, with a shroud wrapped round him; his face, breast, and arms naked. The figure is at present deformed by fresh painting, and the inscription rendered illegible. This nobleman, disliking the innovations in religious matters, took a secret part in the insurrection called the Pilgrimage of Grace: and, in conjunction with the archbishop of York, was supposed to have given up to

Aske, chief of the malecontents, the castle of Pontefract, on very frivolous pretences. He lost his head on Tower-hill, in 1537, and was interred in this church. He had been in high favour with the king; was entrusted by him, in 1510, with fifteen hundred archers, and four great ships, to assist Ferdinand against the Moors of Africa; but that monarch, having brought his designs to succeed to his wish, dismissed lord Darcie and his forces with rich rewards*.

Here also was buried another victim to the unrelenting Henry, sir Nicholas Carew, his master of the horse, and knight of the garter. This gentleman was charged with nothing more than of being of council with Henry Courtney, marquis of Exeter, for the imaginary plot of deposing his master, and making cardinal Pole king in his stead: for this, on March 3d, 1538, he suffered on Tower-hill. By the instructions of his keeper, he imbibed the principles of the reformers, and died professing their religion.

In the cœmetery of this church is the very remarkable tomb (in the altar form) of Coya Shawsware, a merchant, and secretary to

* Lord Herbert's Life of Henry VIII. p. 15.

Nogdi-beg, the Persian ambassador. Around the margin is an inscription in the Persian tongue. Shawsware died here in 1626, aged 44. The ambassador, the son of the deceased, and numbers of Persians attended, and performed the funeral rites according to the forms of their religion: his son was the principal in the ceremony, who sat cross-legged at the north end of the grave, sometimes reading, sometimes singing, and with all the expressions of the truest filial affection. During a month after, the friends of the deceased visited the grave morning and evening, and made their orisons on the spot, till they were driven away by the rudeness of the English mob. In the latter end of the reign of James I. great efforts were made to establish a trade with Persia. The great emperor Abbas sent this ambassador to our court. The famous traveller, sir Robert Shirley, and sir Dodmore Cotton, discharged the same office on our part, and both died at Casbin, in the year 1628. Nogdi-beg, the Persian ambassador, poisoned himself, on his return home, dreading the resentment of his master for his treacherous misrepresentation of our illustrious Shirley*.

* Travels of Tho. Herbert, esq. London, 1634.

Near Aldgate lived and died the able historian John Stow. He relates a cruel execution on a gibbet, erected on the pavement before his house, on the bailiff of Rumford, in the time of Edward VI. In that age there were most barbarous and tyrannous punishments, by martial law, against all spreaders of rumors. The times were turbulent, but slighter penalties than death might have sufficed. The unhappy man, on the ladder, declared, in the presence of our historian, ‘ That he knew not
‘ for what offence he was brought to die,
“ except for words by me spoken yesternight
“ to sir Stephen, curate and preacher of this
“ parish; which were these: He asked me,
“ What news in the countrey? I answered,
“ Heavy newes. Why, quoth he? It is sayd,
“ quoth I, that many men bee up in Essex;
“ but, thanks be to God, all is in good quiet
“ about us. And this was all, as God be my
“ judge.” Upon these words of the prisoner, sir Stephen, to ‘ avoide the reproach of the
‘ people, left the citie, and never was heard of
‘ since among them to my knowledge.’—I shall have farther occasion to speak of sir Stephen, who was a fanatical firebrand of those days.

On the outside of the gate, begins the long street and suburbs of *Whitechapel*. The

church stands very distant from the entrance into the street. It was originally a chapel of ease to Stepney, and known, as early as the year 1336, by the name of the church of *St. Mary Matfelon*; which is said to signify, in the Hebrew, *Mary lately delivered of her holy child*: as the township was styled *Villa Beatæ Mariæ de Matfelon**. It is now a very rich rectory, in the gift of Brazen-nose college, Oxford. In the latter end of the reign of queen Anne, this church was profaned by a most libellous and scandalous picture of the Last Supper, placed above the altar, by the then rector. It seems that doctor White Kennet, at that time dean of Peterborough, had given such offence to the high-church rector, by his writings in defence of the Hanoverian succession, that he caused the dean to be painted among the apostles in the character of Judas, dressed in a black habit, between cloak and gown; a short wig; and, to render it impossible to mistake the object of the satire, with a black velvet patch on his forehead, which the dean always wore from the time he received a dreadful accident on that part in his younger

* Stow, ii. book iv. p. 44.

days. Beneath was written, *Judas the Traitor*. The dean, with true greatness of mind, despised the insolence: but the bishop of London interfered, and caused the picture to be removed by the very persons who had set it up.

In this parish some of our nobility had formerly their villas, for the sake of the country air. Here Cromwel earl of Essex, the short-lived minister of Henry VIII. had a house; and the famous Gondamor retired here, when disengaged from his bubble, James I.

Parallel to the walls, between Aldgate and the Tower, is the street called the *Minories*; named from certain poor ladies of the order of St. Clare, or Minoresses, who had been invited into England by Blanch queen of Navarre, wife to Edmund earl of Lancaster; who, in 1293, founded here, for their reception, a convent. On its suppression it was converted into a dwelling-house, and granted by the king to several great people, who inhabited it. The bishops of Bath and Wells once had it, in lieu of their mansion in the Strand: and in 1552, Henry Grey, duke of Suffolk, possessed it by patent from Edward VI. On his attainder it reverted to the crown, in which it continued till the Restoration. Soon after, a new house was

built on it, called the king's, for what reason is unknown. Charles granted it to colonel William Legge, who resided there, died in it in 1672, and was buried from thence, with great funeral pomp, in the adjoining church, that of Trinity Minories: and his descendants, of the Dartmouth family, still continue to make it the place of their interment.

This street, from being as despicable as any in the city, has of late years been most excellently re-built; is filled with several spacious shops; is become a fine street; and, on one side, has its square, its circus, and its crescent.

Behind this street is *Goodman's Fields*, or rather square. Stow, in his simple manner, tells, that in his time one Trolop, and afterwards Goodman, were the farmers there; and that the “fields were a farme belonging to the
“ said nunrie; at the which farme, I myselfe,
“ (says he) in my youth, have fetched manye a
“ halfe peny worth of milk, and never had
“ lesse than 3 ale pints for a halfe penny in the
“ summer, nor lesse than one ale quart for a
“ halfe penny in the winter, alwaies hot from
“ the kine*.”

* His Survaie, 224.

The theatre in Goodman's Fields, will always be remembered by my cotemporaries, as the stage where Garrick first showed those powers, which, for such a number of years, astonished and charmed the public: his first appearance was on October 19th, 1741. One Odel founded the playhouse in this square, in 1728. As sir John Hawkins expresses it, a *halo* of brothels* soon incircled that, as it does all theatres; and drove away the industrious inhabitants. This theatre was re-built, in an expensive manner, by Henry Giffard, in 1737; but was suppressed by the excellent act for the licensing of places of dramatical entertainment. Yet it was supported a few years by an evasion, during which time, Mr. Garrick entered himself of the company. He drew an audience of nobility and gentry, whose carriages filled the whole space from Temple-bar to White-chapel†.

On the west side of this portion of the walls, stood the house of the *Crutched*, or *Crossed Friars*, or *Fratres sanctæ Crucis*. The order was instituted, or at least reformed, about the year 1169, by Gerard, prior of St. Mary de

* Life of Doctor Johnson, 76. † Life of Garrick, i. 42.

Morello, at Bologna. They astonished the English by appearing among them, in 1244, and requiring from the opulent, a house to live in, telling them they were privileged by the pope to be exempt from being reproached by any body; and that they had from him power to excommunicate those who were hardy enough to reprove them. Two citizens, Ralph Hosier, and William Sabernes, were wise enough to accommodate them with a house in this place, and became friars in it. Originally they carried in their hands an iron cross, which they afterwards changed into one of silver. They wore a cross, made of red cloth, on their garment; which at first was grey, and in latter times altered to blue. One Adams was the first prior: Edmund Streatham, the last. Their annual income was only 5*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* Henry VIII. granted their house to sir Thomas Wyat, the elder, who built a handsome mansion on part of the site. This was the gentleman whom Anthony Wood* (not without justice) calls the delight of the muses, and of mankind. He had the honour to be in great intimacy with the congenial peer, Henry earl of Surry. They were the refiners of our poetry: the elegant

* Athenæ Ox. i. 56.

effusions of their muses are united in a little book published in 1585, intituled, "Sonéges and " Sonnets, by the right honourable Henry " Howard, late earl of Surry, and others." Sir Thomas died in 1541, of a violent fever, in Dorsetshire, contracted by hard riding to conduct to court the emperor's ambassador, who had landed at Falmouth. He was highly celebrated by his noble friend, and by every person of genius in the age in which he lived.

This house afterwards became the residence of John lord Lumley, a celebrated warrior in the time of Henry VIII. ; who distinguished himself greatly at the battle of Floddon, by his valour, and the number of men he brought into the field. Notwithstanding this, his zeal for the old religion engaged him in the Pilgrimage of Grace ; from which he with much dexterity extricated himself and followers. But his only son soon after lost his head, for his concern in a fresh insurrection. John lord Lumley, grandson of the first, was among the few nobility of that time who had a taste for literature. He had the good fortune to marry his sister Barbara to my illustrious countryman Humphrey Llwyd, of Denbigh*, and by

* Tour in Wales, vol. ii. 31.

his assistance formed a considerable library, which at present makes a most valuable part in the British Museum.

In the place of this, rose the *Navy Office*, a building of no beauty; in which the comptroller of the navy used to reside, and all business respecting the payment of seamen's wages, and many other naval matters were transacted; but this office is now removed to Somerset-house. In the place of the old navy-office, the India Company have erected a most magnificent warehouse, a regular oblong square, of about two hundred and fifty feet, by a hundred and sixty; inclosing a court of a hundred and fifty, by sixty, entered by an arched gateway. This is the great repository of the teas. I am told that the searchers, who have frequent occasions to thrust their arms deep into the chests, often feel numbnesses and paralytic affections?

The friars hall was converted into a *glass-house*, for the making of drinking glasses; which, with forty thousand billets of wood, was destroyed by fire, in 1575*. The manufacture was set up in 1557, and was the first of the kind known in England. I may add here,

* Stow's Survaie, 293.

that the finest flint glass was first made at the Savoy; and the first glass plates for looking-glasses, and coach windows, in 1673, at Lambeth, under the patronage of George Villiers duke of Buckingham.

I find among the list of persons interred in the church belonging to these friars, the name of sir Rhys Gryffydd, a Welshman, who lost his head on Tower-hill in 1531. His servant, John Hughes, was hanged at Tyburn the same afternoon*. I cannot learn what their crime was, in a reign when very trifling matters, and often bare suspicion, brought on a capital penalty.

Near this place stood another *Northumberland-house*, inhabited, in the reign of Henry VI. by two of the earls of Northumberland: one lost his life in the battle of St. Albans; the other, his son, in that of Towton. Being deserted by the Percies, the gardens were converted into bowling-allies, and other parts, says Stow, into dicing-houses. This, I imagine, was the first of those pernicious places of resort, for he calls it "their ancient and only patron " of misrule."

* Holinshed.

In Mark-lane, near this, stood the magnificent house* built by sir William Sharrington, a chief officer of the mint, in the reign of Edward VI. He was the instrument of the ambition of Thomas Seymour, lord admiral: he fell with his master, was condemned and attainted: and *Sharrington-house* bestowed on the earl of Arundel, being thought a fit habitation for that great peer, on account of its size and splendour. Let me add, that sir William was pardoned, emerged from his misfortunes, and soon raised another considerable estate, under the favour of Seymour's rival, Dudley duke of Northumberland†; possibly at the price of the admiral's blood, against whom he was chief evidence. Mr. Walpole has a drawing of sir William, after Holbein.

At the bottom of this lane, in Tower-street, stands the church of *All Hallows Barking*. Legend says, that Edward I. when prince of Wales, was admonished, by a vision, to erect an image here to the glorious virgin; and, in case he visited it five times in the year, he was to be victorious over all nations, and in particular over Scotland and Wales. The image

* Strype, i. book ii. 41. † Carte, i. 321.

grew into great repute, and vast were the pilgrimages to it, till the suppression. An indulgence of forty days was granted to every one who performed this act of devotion*.

In this church was deposited, for a time, the bodies of that accomplished nobleman Henry Howard†, earl of Surry, and two prelates, who ended their days by the axe on Tower-hill. The ashes of the ill-fated Surry were, in 1614, removed to Framlingham, in Suffolk. The pious Fisher (whose head was placed on a pole on the bridge) and the indiscreet Laud. The first was removed to the chapel in the Tower, to rest by the side of his friend sir Thomas More‡. The remains of Laud, beheaded in 1644, lay here till 1663, when they were removed to St. John's college, Oxford, over which he had presided§.

In this parish was designed a hospital for poor priests, and for lunatics of both sexes, as early as the time of Edward III.; but not taking effect, it was granted to the hospital of St. Katherine; which was to find a chaplain

* Newcourt, i. 238, 765.

† Collins, i. 95. Stow's Survaie, 250.

‡ Weever, 501. § Newcourt, 241.





to pray for the soul of Robert Denton, who had piously intended the first foundation*.

In Seething-lane, or, as it was called anciently, Sydon-lane, which runs into Tower-street, stood a large house built by sir John Allen, lord mayor, and privy counsellor to Henry VIII. It was afterwards sir Francis Walsingham's, and after that became the property of Robert Devereux, second earl of Essex.

From Aldgate the walls ran southward to the Thames, and ended, as is generally supposed, with a fort; on the site of which arose the present Tower of London. To the north of it was a postern, for the benefit of foot passengers: it was originally a fair and strong gate, built of stone brought out of Kent, and Caen in Normandy. It stood till the year 1440, when it fell down; not, as is conjectured, from the pulling down of three hundred feet of the adjacent wall in 1189, for the purpose of enlarging and strengthening the Tower, but from decay; it being made at the same time with that fortress, which was built by the Conqueror in his first year, and strongly garrisoned with Normans, to secure the allegiance of his new and reluctant subjects.

* Newcourt, 243.

The first work seems to have been suddenly flung up in 1066, on his taking possession of the capital: this included in it a part of the ancient wall; for, soon after the murder of sir Thomas Overbury, a dispute arose whether he was poisoned in the liberties of the city, or in the county of Middlesex: on examination, part of the ancient wall was discovered; and his apartment found to be to the west of it, and in consequence the criminals were tried within the jurisdiction of the city. Had it been on the other side, it would have been adjudged to have been within the county. There is another proof of this fortress having been built upon the remains of another more ancient; for, in 1720, in digging on the south side of what is called Cæsar's chapel, were discovered some old foundations of stone, three yards broad, so strongly cemented that it was with the utmost difficulty they were forced up.

The great square tower called the *White Tower*, and by the Welsh, *Twr Gwyn*, or *Twr y Bryn-gwyn*, was erected in the year 1078, when it arose under the directions of the great military architect Gundulph, bishop of Rochester*; who gave this noble specimen of

* Guillelm. Pictav. inter Script. Normann, p. 205.

innovation in the art of castle-building, and which was pursued by him in the execution of Rochester-castle, on the banks of the Medway. Stow tells us, from Edmund de Had-denham, that during the time Gundulph was employed in this work, he was lodged in the house of one Edmere, a citizen of London*. This building was long dignified with the name of Cæsar's tower; but that illustrious invader probably never saw London: originally it stood by itself. Fitzstephen gives it the name of *Arx Palatina*, the Palatine tower; and says, with his usual romance, that the mortar of the foundation was tempered with the blood of beasts. The commander had the title of palatine bestowed on him, being, as was the case with several of the great men of that time, who had places of importance trusted to their care, endowed with regal powers; such, for example, as the earl palatine, Hugh Lupus, had in the county palatinate of Chester †.

Within this tower is a very ancient chapel, for the use of such of our kings and queens who wished to pay their devotion here. By Stow's description (for I never saw it) it seems coeval

* Survaie, 73. † Lord Lyttelton's Henry II. iii. 139.

with the building: he described it as having a long flight of steps to it, as being darksome, and venerable for the pillars, which are very plain; but that it was in his time filled with our valuable old records*.

In 1092 a violent tempest did great injury to the Tower: but it was repaired by William Rufus, and his successor. The first added another castellated building on the south side, between it and the Thames, which was afterwards called St. Thomas's tower. Beneath that was *Traitors'-gate*, through which state prisoners were brought from the river; and under another, properly enough called *The Bloody*; for, till these happier ages, there was little difference between confinement, and the scaffold, or private assassination.

Ye towers of Julius, London's lasting shame,
With many a foul and midnight murder fed.

In the south-east angle of the inclosure were the royal apartments, for the Tower was a palace during near five hundred years, and only ceased to be so on the accession of queen Elizabeth.

Here fell the meek usurper Henry VI. by the dagger of the profligate Gloucester. Here, full

* Strype's Stow, i. book i. p. 69.

of horrors, died, by the hands of hired ruffians, the unsteady Clarence. Here the sweet innocents Edward V. and his brother, duke of York, perished, victims to the ambition of their remorseless uncle. And the empoisoning of sir Thomas Overbury makes up the sum of the known murders, the reproaches of our ancient fortress. We have here a strait room or dungeon, called, from the misery the unhappy occupier of this very confined place endures, the *Little Ease*. But this will appear a luxurious habitation, when compared with the inventions of the age of Louis XI. of France; with his iron cages, in which persons of rank lay for whole years; or his *Oubliettes*, dungeons made in form of reversed cones, concealed with trap-doors, down which dropped the unhappy victims of the tyrant, brought there by Tristan l'Hermite, his companion and executioner in ordinary. Sometimes their sides were plain, sometimes set with knives, or sharp-edged wheels; but in either case, they were true *Oubliettes*: the devoted were certain to fall into the land where all things were forgotten.

The Tower was first inclosed by William Longchamp, bishop of Ely, and chancellor of England in the reign of Richard I. This

haughty prelate having a quarrel with John, third brother to Richard, under pretence of guarding against his designs, surrounded the whole with walls embattled, and made on the outside a vast ditch, into which, in after-times, the water from the Thames was introduced. Different princes added other works. The present contents, within the walls, are twelve acres and five rods; the circuit, on the outside of the ditch, one thousand and fifty-two feet. It was again inclosed with a mud-wall by Henry III.: this was placed at a distance from the ditch, and occasioned the taking down of part of the city wall; which was resented by the citizens; who, pulling down this precinct of mud, were punished by the king with a fine of a thousand marks.

Edward IV. built the Lions tower: it was originally called the bulwark; but received the former name from its use. A menagery had very long been a piece of regal state; Henry I. had his at his manor of Woodstock, where he kept lions, leopards, lynxes, porcupines, and several other uncommon beasts. They were afterwards removed to the Tower. Edward II. commanded the sheriffs of London to pay the keepers of the king's leopards six

pence a day, for the sustenance of the leopards; and three halfpence a day for the diet of the keeper, out of the fee-farm of the city. I should have mentioned before, that Henry issued his order to the sheriffs, to supply four pence a day for the maintenance of his white bear (*urso nostro albo*), and his keeper, in the Tower of London. They were also to provide a muzzle, and an iron chain to hold the said bear out of the water; and a long cord to hold it during the time it was fishing in the Thames: they were besides ordered to build a small house in the Tower for the king's elephant (*elefantem nostrum*) and to make provision both for beast and keeper*.

The royal menagery is to this day exceedingly well supplied. In April 1787, there was a leopard, of a quite unknown species, brought from Bengal. It was wholly black, but the hair was marked, on the back, sides, and neck, with round clusters of small spots, of a glossy and the most intense black; the tail hung several inches beyond the length of the legs, and was very full of hair. Here were also two tigers; one had been here some time, and its

* Madox Antiq. Excheq. i. 376.

ground-color had faded into a pale sickly sandiness; the other, young and vigorous, and almost fresh from its native woods, was almost of an orange colour; and its black stripes, and the white parts, were most pure in their kinds*.

The little book sold in the Tower, will give a very satisfactory account of all its curiosities, natural and artificial. To that I refer my reader.

For a considerable time, there was a dispute between the crown and the city, about the right to the Tower-hill (the Gwynfryn of the Welsh). In the reign of Edward IV. the king's officers erected there a gallows, and a scaffold for the execution of offenders. The citizens complained; and Edward immediately disavowed the act, by public proclamation. From that time the fatal apparatus is always provided by the city. The condemned are delivered to the sheriffs by the lieutenant, who receives from the former a receipt for their delivery; the sheriffs then see execution done, as in other places.

The first whom I recollect to have suffered

* Engraved and described by M. de la Metherie, dans le *Journal de Physique*, Juillet, 1788, p. 45, tab. ii.

here by the more honorable death of the axe, was in 1388, when sir Simon de Burley, knight of the garter, tutor of Richard II. and the most accomplished man of his time, fell a victim to the malice of the potent faction, which had usurped the regal authority. Queen Anne, the good queen Anne, went on her knees to the duke of Gloucester, the king's uncle, to implore mercy; and continued in that attitude three hours before the inexorable tyrant.

There was, during a very long period, a barbarous meanness, a species of insult to the unhappy criminals, which is in our days happily changed into every species of tenderness and humanity, consistent with public justice and security. In revenge for the death of sir Simon, and many others who suffered in the same cause, the great earl of Arundel, Richard Fitzalan, was hurried instantly from the place of trial, the palace at Westminster, to Tower-hill: his arms and his hands were bound; and the king glutted his eyes with the bloody scene. That great peer, Thomas duke of Norfolk, who was confined here in the last year of Henry VIII. was reduced to beg for sheets. He was to have lost his head, but was saved by the death of the tyrant on the very day ordered for his exe-

cution. He was kept in custody during the next short reign, but was released on the accession of queen Mary. He mounted his horse at the edge of fourscore, to assist in quelling the insurrection of sir Thomas Wyatt, in 1554. This served to fill the Tower with new subjects for the mean insults of the times. Sir Thomas, and the rest of the prisoners, were brought into the Tower through the Traitors'-gate. The lieutenant received them, one by one, with insults and gross abuse. When sir Thomas appeared, gallantly dressed, the lieutenant actually collared him: sir Thomas gave him a fierce and reproachful look, bravely telling him, *This is no masterie now!*

One person of rank suffered here by the more infamous way of the halter. I should not mention sir Gervis Elwayes, lieutenant of the Tower, who suffered here, in 1615, for his concern in the murder of sir Thomas Overbury, but for the great instruction which may be gathered from his end, and his excellent dying speech. For there is something very peculiar in his admonition to the spectators, against appealing to Heaven by a rash vow; for, having been greatly addicted to gaming, he had said seriously in his prayers, *Lord, let me hanged*

if ever I play more: and yet he broke it a thousand times*. Of what utility would be a sensible collection of these proofs of the Finger of God, exemplified to mankind in the detection and punishment of every species of crime!

The church of *St. Petrus ad Vincula*, within the Tower, has been the undistinguishing repository of the headless bodies of numbers, who ended their days on the adjacent hill; or, when greatly favoured, within the fortress. The ancient church was much more splendid, it being occasionally the place at which the kings of England performed their orisons. In Henry III.'s time here were stalls for the king and queen: a chancel dedicated to St. Peter, and another to St. Mary. The church was adorned with a fine cross, images of saints, and various paintings, *benè & bonis coloribus*. Also several holy figures in painted glass; all done by that early lover and patron of the arts in England, the monarch just mentioned †.

To the present church, after his execution, was finally removed the body of the conscien-

* See the whole in the first xiv yeares of king James's reign, p. 150.

† Strype's Stow, i. book i. 68. Mr. Walpole's Anecdotes, i. 4.

tious amiable prelate Fisher, bishop of Rochester; a victim to his opinion of the pope's supremacy, and the treachery of the attorney-general Rich, who, under pretence of consulting him, obtained his confidence, and betrayed him. The pope rewarded his orthodoxy with a cardinal's hat, but it did not arrive till the poor bishop's head was on a pole on London-bridge. His headless corse was removed, to be near that of his friend, who suffered about three weeks after, in the same cause, the great sir Thomas More. But his body did not long keep company with that of his brother sufferer, nor his head on the bridge. His affectionate daughter, Margaret Roper, procured the one to be removed to Chelsea; and the head, accidentally blown into the Thames, to be given to her. She kept it during life as a relique, and directed that after her death it should be lodged in her arms and buried with her.

The beauteous Anna Bullein, on May 19th, 1536, for a fictitious charge of adultery, by a tyrant lusting for a new object; and the profligate Catherine Howard, on a full conviction of the same crime; rest here. George lord Rochford, the innocent brother of the former, involved in the accusation, preceded her to the

grave by two days; as his infamous wife, a cause of their death, accompanied, unpitied, her mistress Catherine Howard, in execution and in sepulchre. It is impossible not to moralize on comparing the manner in which she was brought prisoner to this fatal fortress, with the gay and splendid pageantry which attended her and her savage spouse from Greenwich by water to the same place, on May 29th, 1533; and from the Tower, two days after, with still greater magnificence, to her coronation. She rejoiced too publicly on the death of Catherine of Arragon, whose place she most wrongfully usurped: in less than five months, she herself fell as a criminal*. As I cannot discover the place of interment of the venerable Margaret countess of Salisbury, beheaded on the green within the Tower, on May 27th, 1541, I must suppose that it was within the chapel. There is no reason to imagine that the tyrant would pay more respect to her remains, than to those of his royal consorts. This illustrious woman was daughter to George duke of Clarence, and last of the royal line of Plantagenet. That

* See a very curious account of the processions, in the *Antiquarian Repertory*, iii. 202.

seems to have been her only crime, except that of being mother to cardinal Pole, to whom Henry bore the most inveterate hatred. She was attainted by a servile parliament, in 1539, upon no other proof than that of a banner, with the five wounds of Christ embroidered on it, being found. This being the symbol chosen by the northern rebels, was thought sufficient to establish her guilt. The king, on a trifling insurrection, in which it was impossible she could have any concern, ordered her to be put to death. The executioner directed her to lay her head on the block, which she refused to do, telling him, that she knew of no guilt, and would not submit to die like a traitor. He pursued her about the scaffold, aiming at her hoary head, and at length took it off, after mangling the poor victim, of seventy years of age, in the most barbarous manner.

That meteor Thomas Cromwel, earl of Essex, the great promoter of the suppression of religious houses, experienced the common lot of the preceding. He suffered, among other charges, for being a favorer of heretics; yet died in the firm profession of the Catholic religion.

The turbulent Thomas Seymour, baron Sud-

ley, and lord high admiral, in 1549 was beheaded, and buried in this church, by a warrant from his own brother, the protector Somerset. On January 24th, 1552, the protector himself mounted the same scaffold, and, notwithstanding his high rank, was flung into the same grave among the attainted herd: and his ambitious rival, the instrument of his death, John Dudley, duke of Northumberland, lost his head and was laid by his side, on the 22d of August, 1553. So short, so vain are the dreams of power and ambition!

The favourite earl of Essex, Robert Devereux, was reluctantly given to the block by his fond mistress, after a long struggle between fear and affection. Mr. Walpole observes, that it was a fashion to treat the passion of that illustrious princess as a romance. She, it is alleged, was sixty-eight, but it was forgotten that the earl was only thirty-four. Let their ages have been reversed, you would never have heard of the unhappy love of Elizabeth.

Beneath the communion table reposes the handsome, restless, ungrateful son of Charles II. the duke of Monmouth. His ambition, like that of many of those he followed to this place, occasioned his death. He is said to have died

calmly; and to have acknowledged the guilt of rebellion: but love preserved her influence to the last moment. He was married very young, and for interested motives. He had made a connection of the most tender nature with lady Harriet Wentworth, who lived with him as his wife. He could not, with all the arguments of our best divines, be convinced of the sin of adultery; he called her the choice of his ripened years. I have been told a tradition, that lady Harriet had placed herself in a window, to take a last and farewell look; he was master enough of himself to make her a graceful bow. With more certainty can I say, that the king, on the evening of the execution, visited the widowed dutchess, to give assurance of his attention to her and her children. Consolation she did not want, for she had been separated from him; and when, at the duke's earnest request, she had an interview with him in the Tower, their interview was, as Barillon expresses it, *aigre depart et d'autre**.

The repentant earl of Kilmarnock, and the rough and fearless lord Balmerino, avowing the goodness of his cause to the last, were de-

* Dalrymple's Memoirs, ii. 168.

posited here August 18th, 1746. The inscriptions on the leaden plates of their coffins are here shown to strangers. In the following year the infamous Simon lord Lovat was interred in the same ground, after mounting the scaffold with the intrepidity of innocence. He certainly was in his dotage, or, what is more probable, lost to all sense of shame for his immoral and most abandoned life, when he could repeat to the spectators,

Nam genus et proavos, & *quæ non fecimus ipsi*,
Vix ea nostra voco.

Besides these headless trunks, numbers of good people lie here, who went to their graves from their quiet beds. Among them, sir Richard Blount, and sir Michael his son, both lieutenants of the Tower. Sir Richard died in 1564; sir Michael in 1592: a splendid monument was erected to each. They are represented in armour, kneeling; sir Richard with his two sons, his wife, and two daughters, in the dress of the times; sir Michael has a long beard, is attended by three sons in cloaks, his wife, and daughter.

In a corner, on the floor, is an ancient monument of a man recumbent, his hands closed

as in prayer, his hair lank, his chin beardless ; his lady by him in a hood ; round his neck is a collar of SS. and a rose pendent. This is to preserve the memory of sir Richard Cholmondly, knight, lieutenant of the Tower in the time of Henry VIII.

I pass over less interesting monuments, to the little stone on the floor, which records, that " Talbot Edwards, late keeper of his majesty's regalia, 30th September, 1674, aged " 80," was deposited here. Was it not a shameless reign, no remembrance of this good and faithful servant would have been suffered to remain. This venerable man was keeper of the regalia, when the ruffian Blood made the notorious attempt on the crown, and other ornaments of majesty. Never was a more determined villain : " with a head to contrive, and " heart to execute any wickedness." Blood contrived, under the guise of a clergyman, to make acquaintance with Mr. Edwards ; insinuated himself into his favour and confidence. After various visits, with the assistance of several other associates, he seized on the old man, whom he had requested to show the jewels to his friends, gagged him, and on his resisting, struck him on the head with a mallet,

and gave him several stabs. Edwards thought it prudent to counterfeit death. Blood put the crown under his parson's gown: another put the globe in his breeches: a third, not being able to conceal the sceptre by reason of its length, broke off the rich ruby and put it in his pocket. As soon as they were gone, Edwards forced out the gag, and gave the alarm; they were instantly pursued, and three of them soon taken. Blood struggled hard for his prize, saying, when it was wrested from him, *It was a gallant attempt, though unsuccessful; it was for a CROWN.*

The curiosity of the king was excited to see a man engaged in so many important villanies: under pretence of obtaining discoveries, his majesty made the wretch a visit; from that moment the artful Blood dated his security: he told the king so many plausible tales; such indifference he shewed for his own life, such anxiety for that of his majesty (for he insinuated that his comrades would certainly revenge his death, even on his sacred majesty) that in a short time he obtained his pardon. It was necessary to apply to the duke of Ormond for permission, the ruffian having made the attempt on his grace's life not long before. The duke

nobly answered, " If his majesty could forgive
 " him stealing the crown, he might easily forgive
 " give the attempt upon his life; and if such
 " was his majesty's pleasure, that was a sufficient
 " reason for him, and his lordship (the
 " earl of Arlington, who brought the message)
 " might spare the rest." Blood was not only
 pardoned, but received into favour, had a pension
 of five hundred a-year, and was perpetually
 seen at court, enjoying the smiles of majesty,
 and even successfully employing his interest,
 as a most respectable patron. But all good
 men looked on him with horror, and considered
 him as a *Sicarius* to a profligate set of
 men, to overawe any who had integrity enough
 to resist the measures of a most profligate
 court. This miscreant died peacefully in his
 bed, August 29th, 1680, fearlessly, and without
 any signs of penitence; totally hardened and
 forsaken by Heaven.

The innocent Talbot Edwards, so far from
 receiving the grateful reward of his fidelity and
 sufferings, got with great difficulty a pension
 of two hundred a-year; and his son, who was
 active in taking Blood, one hundred more: but
 the order for the pensions was so long delayed,
 and the expences attending the cure of the good

old man's wound so great, that he was forced to sell his order for a hundred pounds ready money, and the son his for fifty. It is singular, that this aged man survived his injuries seven years: the attempt was made May 9th, 1671, and the inscription, contrary to the assertions of some historians, fixes his death in 1680*.

Others have fallen, on this fatal hill, by the hands of lawless violence. In the rebellion of Wat Tyler, his miscreant followers pursued, with unrelenting rage, the nobility and better rank of people. That worthy primate, Sudbury, archbishop of Canterbury; sir Robert Hales, treasurer of England; and many others, took refuge with their youthful king in the Tower. It was then garrisoned with six hundred armed men, and six hundred archers; who, appalled at the mob, stood motionless. The rebels seized on the primate; sir Robert; John Legge, serjeant at arms; and William Appledore, the king's confessor; all of whom they instantly beheaded on Tower-hill; the archbishop with peculiar circumstances of cruelty, being almost hewn to pieces by their cruel rage.

In 1450, the mob under Jack Cade, in an

* See the several accounts in Kennet, iii. 283—Strype's Stow, i. book i. 92 to 96.—*Brit. Biography*, article *Blood*.

endarkened and savage period, forced out of this fortress James lord Say, whom the king had committed to appease the furious commons. They brought him to Guildhall, and from thence hurried him to the Standard in Cheapside, where they struck off his head, tied his naked body to a horse's tail, dragged it to Southwark, and there cut it into quarters. They then beheaded his son-in-law, sir James Cromer, placed the heads on poles, and in every street made them kiss each other*. What a horrid parallel have we not seen in the late year, amidst the polished and enlightened French!!! Two men of rank, M. de Foulon, and his son-in-law M. Berthier, were devoted as victims by the barbarous populace. They were first hung, with a studied prolongation of their sufferings: their heads were struck off; and, by a refinement in cruelty (beyond the invention of Jack Cade) the heart of de Foulon was torn out, and brought dancing on a pole, to salute his unhappy son-in-law on his way to execution: nor was any insult to their mangled trunks omitted by the furious canaille. But the acts of a mob ought never to tarnish a national character.

* Fabian's Chronicle, part vi. 451.

Within the Tower, on the green before the chapel, was beheaded the accomplished lord Hastings. His fidelity to the children of his late master Edward IV. was the cause of his death. He was dragged from the council-table, by order of their ambitious protector, Gloucester, who swore he would have his head before he dined; and such was his haste, that the unfortunate lord had only time to make a short shrift to a priest who casually passed by, and his head was taken off on a log which happened to lie in the way. So little did he expect death, that, scarcely an hour before, he was exulting in the fate of his enemies, lord Rivers, lord Richard Grey, and sir Thomas Vaughan, at Pontefract; yet all four underwent the stroke of the headsman on the very same day. Besides these, I can make a miscellaneous recital of several who died within these walls, by natural deaths, by suicide, or by accident.

Elizabeth, wife of Henry VII. breathed her last here in child-bed, in 1502.

Here may be truly said to have fled indignant to the shades, the high spirit of Henry earl of Northumberland. He was confined for the same cause as the earl of Arundel, by the jealous Elizabeth. *The B——*, exclaims the

earl, *shall not have my estate*; and on June 21st, 1585, shot himself with a pistol loaden with three bullets.

Philip earl of Arundel, son of the duke of Norfolk, beheaded for aspiring to the bed of Mary queen of Scots, was condemned to death for favouring that ill-fated princess. He was indeed reprieved, but suffered to languish till his death, in 1595: his bones were kept in an iron chest. A late great dutchess of the same family procured his skull, had it enchased in gold, and kept it to exalt her devotion, as the relique of a martyr to religion.

Arthur earl of Essex, accomplice with lord Russel, ended here his days. Despair seized him on his confinement, and, forsaken by Heaven, he put an end to his existence by the razor. He was of a party charged with equal freedom in religious as political principles. He vindicated and practised suicide. His death was charged on the court, but without the least grounds. The prince who could bring lord Russel to the block by a legal course, need never have incurred the odium of assassination on a less important partner of the conspiracy.

Here died, in September 1592, sir John Per-

rot, the supposed son of Henry VIII. by Mary, wife to Thomas Perrot, esq. of Haroldstone, in the county of Pembroke. In his great stature, and high spirit, he bore a strong resemblance to that monarch. Young Perrot first attracted his notice by a quarrel he had with two of the yeoman of the guard, whom he foiled in a quarrel he had at the stews in Southwark. He was in high favour in the following reign. In that of Mary fell into disgrace, on account of his attachment to the reformed religion. When queen Elizabeth succeeded, he experienced the smiles of his sovereign and sister. At length was constituted lord deputy of Ireland, where he grew very unpopular, by reason of his haughty conduct; was recalled, unjustly accused, and condemned of treason. His sentence was respited; but he died of a broken heart, unable, from his lofty spirit, to brook the ill-treatment he met with from one he thought so near an ally.

In this prison also sunk a victim to unmerited misfortunes, the innocent Arabella Stuart, daughter of Charles Stuart, earl of Lenox, and younger brother to lord Darnley, father to James I. Her affinity to the crown brought her under the jealousy of both Elizabeth and that monarch. The conspiracy in 1603, for

which lord Cobham, sir Walter Raleigh, and others, were condemned, was supposed, among other objects, to have that of placing the crown on the head of this unfortunate lady; on which she was confined to her own house. She found means to be married privately to sir William Seymour, second son of Edward lord Beauchamp, son of the earl of Hertford, afterwards restored to the dukedom of Somerset. On discovery of the wedding, they were committed to the Tower, to the care of different keepers. They artfully contrived their escape: he arrived safe at Dunkirk; the lady was taken at sea, and conveyed back to her prison; where her misfortunes deprived her of her senses. She was released by death, September 27th, 1615; and found an honourable interment in Henry VIIIth's chapel, near the remains of her ill-fated relation Mary queen of Scots. Her husband lived to succeed to the title of Somerset; and was the faithful servant and friend of Charles I.

I shall mention two other noblemen who were confined within these walls, on account of some particularities which attended their duration. The first is Henry earl of Northumberland, imprisoned on the very just suspicion of being privy to the gunpowder treason.

During the time he was in custody, he amused himself most rationally in the company of learned men, who were permitted to have access to him. Among others, were three who were called his *Wizards*: possibly he might be fond of astronomy, or dabble in judicial astrology; circumstances that, with the vulgar, might easily fasten on him the imputation of dealing with the devil.

A very remarkable accident befell Henry Wriothesley, earl of Southampton, the friend and companion of the earl of Essex, in his fatal insurrection: after he had been confined there a small time, he was surprised by a visit from his favourite cat, which had found its way to the 'Tower; and, as tradition says, reached its master by descending the chimney of his apartment. I have seen at Bulstrode, the summer residence of the late dutchess of Portland, an original portrait of this earl, in the place of his confinement, in a black dress and cloak, with the faithful animal sitting by him*. Perhaps this picture might have been the foundation of the tale.

The fallen lord chancellor, the cruel intru-

* In the same collection is another portrait of the same nobleman, out of confinement, richly dressed, with a rich helmet and armour lying by him.

ment of despotism under James II. died, imprisoned here, of a broken heart, aided by intemperance. He was first interred in the church belonging to the Tower; and afterwards was removed to that of St. Mary, Aldermanbury, and deposited near the body of his rakish son, lord Wem. In my younger days, I have heard of a hard-hearted insult on this once great man, during his imprisonment. He received, as he thought, a present of Colchester oysters; and expressed great satisfaction at the thought of having some friend yet left; but, on taking off the top of the barrel, instead of the usual contents, appeared an halter!

To conclude this melancholy list, I shall return to ancient times, to lament the sad fate of my countrymen, victims to English ambition. Here was basely confined, by Henry III. my countryman Gryffydd, father of our last prince Llewelyn ap Gryffydd; who, impatient of imprisonment, attempted to escape by lowering himself from the walls: the line he was descending by broke, and, being of a great bulk, he was dashed to pieces, and perished in a most miserable manner*.

It is supposed that many of our nobility, im-

* Powel's History of Wales, 307.—Wynne's History, 263.

prisoned within this fortress, had obtained leave that part of their libraries might be sent to them, for their amusement in their solitary hours: so that in time it became a repository of Welsh literature. These valuable manuscripts were at length burnt by the villany of one Scolan, to the irreparable loss of our history, and our poetry. Gutto' r Glynn, who wrote about the year 1450, thus relates the fact:

Llyfrau Cymru a'u usfrudd,
I'r Twr Gwynn aethant ar gudd;
Ysceler oedd i Scolan,
Furw'r twrr llyfrau i'r tan.

i. e. "The books of Wales, and their destroyer,
" were concealed in the White Tower. Villanous was the deed of Scolan, when he threw
" the heaps of books into the fire*."

In the next reign, to the eternal disgrace of the great Edward, the head of the son of Gryffydd, the last of our princes, was placed on these battlements, insultingly crowned with ivy, for gallantly defending his hereditary dominions, to which he had as good a right as

* Evans's Welsh poetry, 160.

his more fortunate conqueror had to the crown of England. And, to fill the measure of misfortune, in a small time after, the head of prince Dafydd was sent to accompany that of his ill-fated brother.

Dafydd Lhwyd ap Llewelyn o Vathavarn, a poet, who flourished in 1480, gives our countryman Owen Tudor, grandfather to Henry VII. a nobler prison than I fear we can warrant from history†. He certainly thought it derogating from the honour of Wales, to send his hero to Newgate like a common felon. Thus he bewails his unfortunate state, in a *Cywydd* composed on the occasion. I shall give a translation of the parts relative to the subject, by the same ingenious friend‡, to whom I lie under so many similar obligations.

Tudor, in himself a host,
High-born Owen, Cambria's boast;
Cambria's flower imprison'd lies,
Where London's lofty towers rise.
Unjust the pride and rash the power,
That doom'd him to yon hostile Tower:

* See Rymer's *Fœd.* x. 685, 709.

† The reverend Richard Williams, of Vron. See Appendix, for a similar poem, by the same gentleman.

For him our eyes with pity flow,
For him our breasts with vengeance glow.
Are Owen's feet with fetters bound?
With poetry I'll ease the wound:
Around his legs my muse shall twine,
And break them with her strains divine.
How wondrous are the powers of song,
To succour them who suffer wrong!

The next explains the cause of his imprisonment.

'Tis not for plunder, fraud or debt,
That Owen this misfortune met.
'Tis not for lawless force of arms;
But for a queen's resistless charms,
Fertile Gallia's daughter fair,
That Owen's feet those fetters wear.
Worthy, virtuous, comely, tall,
Catherine did his heart enthrall,
Who could blame th' adventurous youth?
Fam'd for valour, honour, truth!

To him this gem of Gallia's shore
Three renowned children bore,
Warlike youths, their father's pride,
France's royal blood allied;
Grandsons to the Gallic throne;
Loyal barons of our own.
From them in future times shall spring
Many a gallant British king*.

* See the account of Owen Tudor, in my *Tower in Wales*,
ii. 256.

In the reign of Richard III. sir William Gryffydd, of Penrhyn, chamberlain of North Wales, suffered imprisonment in the Tower, at the same time with lord Strange, for their supposed attachment to the interests of the duke of Richmond, afterwards Henry VII. Sir William had also his poetical friend, in Howel ap Reinalt, who, in a *Cywydd*, celebrates the confinement of his patron.

A little to the south of East Smithfield, is the *Hospital of St. Catherine's*, originally founded in 1148, by Matilda of Boulogne, wife of king Stephen, for the repose of her son Baldwin, and her daughter Matilda: and for the maintenance of a master, brothers and sisters, and other poor persons. In 1273, Elinor, widow of Henry, possessed herself of it, dissolved the old foundation, refounded it in honour of the same saint, for a master, three brethren chaplains, three sisters, ten Bedes women, and six poor scholars. Queen Philippa, wife of Edward III. was a great benefactress to this hospital: and to this day it remains under queenly patronage, according to the reservation made by the pious re-foundress Elinor. Our present gracious queen is the twenty-ninth royal patroness.

The mastership is a sinecure of considerable value. In this hospital is a house for him, and all its members. The reader will find the disposition of them, in the plan printed by Mr. Nichols, in the account of St. Katherine's hospital, and its collegiate church; a posthumous work of that able antiquary the late Andrew Coltee Ducarel, LL. D. He was interred in the collegiate church, where a plain piece of marble informs us of little more than the period of his existence.

The church is a handsome Gothic building, but almost quite lost in the various houses which shut it up from public view. The east window is very elegant; and in the modern improvements there is the utmost propriety preserved in the imitation of the ancient architecture. The wooden pulpit is a curiosity: on its eight sides are represented the ancient building, and different gates of the hospital; beneath each compartment extend, *Ezra the Scribe—stood upon a—pulpit of wood—which he had—made for the—preachin Neh—e. chap. viii. 4.*

Under one of the stalls is a very good carving of the head of queen Philippa, and another of her spouse. They bear a resemblance to the monumental sculpture of those great personages.

The most remarkable monument is that of John Holland, duke of Exeter, who lies recumbent, with a fillet round his head, and in a long gown, the weeds of peace. By him are placed the figure of his first wife Anne, daughter of Edmund earl Stafford, and widow of Edmund Mortimer, earl of March; and another of his sister Constance, first, wife to Thomas Mowbray, duke of Norfolk; and afterwards to sir John Grey, eldest son of Reginald lord Grey, of Ruthen. Ashmole says, that she was represented, on the tomb, with the garter round her left arm, a mark of distinction on only two other monuments: but time hath obliterated this badge of honor. This potent peer was a great benefactor to the hospital, founded in it a chauntry; and bequeathed to the high altar in the church, “a cuppe of by-
“roll, garnished with gold, perles, and pre-
“cious stones, to be put in the sacrament,” and numbers of other valuable effects. He died in peace in 1447, a wonderful thing in his family; not fewer than four of this great house, in little more than a century, fell by violent deaths.

Below St. Catherine's, on the river side, stood the great breweries or *Bere-house*, as it

is called in the map published in the first volume of the *Civitates Orbis*. They were subject to regulations as early as the reign of Henry VII.; who, in 1492, licenses John Merchant, a Fleming, to export fifty tons of ale called *berre* *. And in the same reign one Geffry Gate, probably an officer of the king's, spoiled the brewhouses at St. Catherine's twice, either for sending too much abroad unlicensed, or for brewing it too weak for their home customers †. The demand for this article from foreign parts increased to a high degree: in the reign of queen Elizabeth, five hundred tons were exported at once, as is expressed, for the queen's use, at one time; probably for the service of her army in the Low Countries; three hundred and fifty barrels to Embden; three hundred to Amsterdam; and again eight hundred to Embden. At this time there seems to have been a free exportation, except when checked by proclamation, for fear of enhancing the price of corn, by excess of brewing in scarce times; but even then it was permitted by the royal licence ‡.

Those who wish to attempt to restore the spirit of the boisterous reign of Henry, as far

* Rymer, xii. 271. † Maitland, ii. 1017.

‡ Strype's Stow, ii. 292.

as depended on the boasted British liquor, may use the following receipt * :

x quarters malte.

ii quarters wheet.

ii quarters ootos.

xl lb. weight of hoppys, to make lx barrel of seugyll beer.

It is not in my power to trace the progress of this important article of trade. Let me only say, that it is now a national concern : for the duty on malt, from July 5th, 1715, to the same day 1786, produced a million and half of money †, to the support of the state, from a liquor which invigorates the bodies of its willing subjects, to defend the blessings they enjoy ; while that from the Stygian gin enervates and incapacitates. One of these *Chevaliers de*

* *Customes, &c. of London*, printed in

† Vast quantities of our beer or porter are sent abroad ; I do not know the sum, but the following extract from a newspaper, will show the greatness of our breweries.

The following is a list of the chief porter brewers of London, and the barrels of strong beer they have brewed, from Midsummer 1786, to Midsummer 1787. And we make no doubt but it will give our readers much pleasure, to find such a capital article of trade solely confined to England ; and the more so, as a large quantity of the porter makes a considerable part of our exports.

Malte (as an impertinent Frenchman styled a most respectable gentleman* of the trade) has within one year, contributed not less than fifty thousand pounds to his own share. The sight of a great London brewhouse exhibits a magnificence unspeakable. The vessels evince the extent of the trade. Mr. Meux, of Liquor-pond-street, Gray's-inn-lane, can show twenty-four tons; containing, in all, thirty-five thousand barrels; one alone holds four thousand

	<i>Barrels.</i>		<i>Barrels.</i>
Whitbread, Samuel	150,280	Dickinson, Joseph	23,659
Calvert, Felix	131,043	Hare, Richard ..	23,251
Thrale, Hester	105,559	Allen, Thomas ..	23,013
Read, W. (Trueman's)	95,302	Rickinson, Rivers	18,640
Calvert, John	91,150	Pearce, Richard ..	16,901
Hammond, Peter ..	90,852	Coker, Thomas ..	16,744
Goodwin, Henry ..	66,398	Proctor, Thomas ..	16,584
Phillips, John	54,197	Newberry, William	16,517
Meux, Richard	49,651	Hodgson, George	16,384
Wiggins, Matthew ..	40,741	Bullock, Robert ..	16,272
Fasset, Thomas	40,279	Clarke, Edward ..	9,855
Dawson, Ann	39,400		
Jordan, Thomas	24,193	Total of Barrels	1,176,856

* The late Humphry Parsons, esq. when he was hunting with Louis XV. excited the king's curiosity to know who he was, and asking one of his attendants, received the above answer.

five hundred barrels of wholesome liquor; which enables the London porter-drinkers to undergo tasks that ten gin-drinkers would sink under.

I am now arrived at the very eastern extent of London, as it was in the age of queen Elizabeth. A small village or two might be found in the remaining part of the county of Middlesex, but bordered by marshes, which frequently experienced the ravages of the river. This tract had been a manor in the Saxon times, called *Stibben-hedde*, i. e. *Stibben-heath*. In later days it belonged to John de Pulteney, who had been four times lord mayor, viz. in 1330, 1331, 1333, and 1336. The bishops of London had here a palace, as appears from ancient records—"Given from our palace of Stebonhyth, or Stebonheath," which is supposed to have filled the space now covered with several tenements*. It appears that the side next to the Thames had been embanked, to resist the fury of the floods. From the 26th of Edward I. several inquisitions were made to examine the state of the banks and ditches, and the tenants, who were found negligent, were presented as delinquents†. The church, which

* Newcourt, i. 737.

† Dugdale on embanking, 69.

stands far from the river, was originally called *Ecclesia omnium Sanctorum*, but was afterwards styled that of St. Dunstan; for the whole body of saints was obliged to give way to him who had the courage to take the devil himself by the nose*. The church is by no means distinguished by its architecture. In it were interred the remains of the illustrious sir Thomas Spert, comptroller of the navy in the time of Henry VIII. and to whom this kingdom was indebted for that salutary foundation the Trinity-House†. Here also may be found that curious epitaph mentioned by the Spectator:

Here Thomas Saffin lyes interr'd: Ah why,
Born in New England, did in London dye? &c.

This vast parish is at present divided into eight others, yet the mother parish still remains of great extent.

The dock and ship yard, the property of Mr. Perry, the greatest private dock in all Europe, is at the extremity of this parish, at Blackwall, the upper part of the eastern side of the Isle of Dogs. It may be called the eastern end of London, being nearly a continued succession of six

* Lives of the Saints.

† He died Sept. 8th, 1541.

miles and a half of streets, from hence to Tyburn turnpike.

The great extent of *Wapping*, which stretches along the river side from St. Katherine's, arose from the opinion of the commissioners of sewers, in 1571, that nothing could secure the manor from the depredations of the water, more effectually than the building of houses: for they thought the tenants would not fail being attentive to the safety of their lives and property. The plan succeeded, and in our days we see a vast and populous town added to the ancient precincts (which had stagnated for ages). A long narrow street, well paved, and handsomely flagged on both sides, winding along the banks of the Thames, as far as the end of Lime-house, an extent of near two miles; and inhabited by multitudes of seafaring men, alternate occupants of sea and land: their floating tenements lie before them. In fact, the whole river, from the bridge, for a vast way, is covered with a double forest of masts, with a narrow avenue in mid-channel. These give importance and safety to the state, and supply the mutual wants of the universe. We send the necessities and luxuries of our island to every part; and, in return, receive every *pabulum* which should

satiate the most luxurious, wealth that ought to make avarice cry. Hold! enough, and matters for speculation for the laudable and delicate longings of the intellectual world.

The hamlet of *Shadwell* is a continuation of the buildings along the river. Between the houses and the water, in all this long tract of street, are frequent docks, and small building-yards. The passenger is often surprised with the sight of the prow of a ship rising over the street, and the hulls of new ones appearing at numbers of openings. But all that filth and stench, which Stow complains of, exists no longer. Execution Dock still remains at Wapping, and is in use as often as a melancholy occasion requires. The criminals are to this day executed on a temporary gallows placed at low-water mark; but the custom of leaving the body to be overflowed by three tides, has long since been omitted.

The village of *Radcliff*, to which Wapping now joins, is of some antiquity. From hence the gallant sir Hugh Willoughby, on May the 20th, 1553, took his departure on his fatal voyage for discovering the north-east passage to China. He sailed with great pomp by Greenwich, where the court then lay. Mutual

honors were payed on both sides. The council and coutiers appeared at the windows, and the people covered the shores. The young king alone lost the noble and novel sight, for he then lay on his death-bed ; so that the principal object of the parade was disappointed *.

Limehouse is a continuation of the town along the river side : it is a new creation ; and its church, one of the fifty new churches, was finished in 1724. This may be called the end of London on the water-side ; but it is continued by means of Poplar, a chapelry in the parish of Stepney (anciently a regal manor, so named from its abundance of poplar trees) across the upper part of the Isle of Dogs, in a strait line to the river Lea, the division of this county from Essex.

Wapping, Shadwell, and Limehouse, have their respective churches ; and Poplar its chapel. The two first have nothing to attract the eye. Limehouse has its awkward tower, a dull square rising out of another, embellished with pilasters ; heavy pinnacles rise out of the uppermost : the whole proves how unhappily Mr. Hawksmoor, the architect of Bloomsbury church, exerted his genius in the obsolete art

* Hackluyt, i. 239.

of steeple-building. The church in question is one of the new fifty. In the year 1730 it was added to the bills of mortality.

In our walk through Limehouse, we crossed the New Cut, or Poplar canal, near its discharge into the river. This was begun about twenty years ago; runs by Bromley, and joins the river Lea near Bow, where barges enter by means of a lock called Bow lock. This canal is about a mile and a quarter in length; and serves to bring to our capital corn, malt, and flour, from the neighbourhood of Hertford, and several other counties, which put their productions on board the barges at that town. It is also of great use to convey to the Thames the produce of the great distilleries near Bow; and also to the internal counties coals, and several articles from the metropolis. This canal saves the great circuit of passing down to Leamouth, and thence round the Isle of Dogs; a navigation often impeded by contrary winds and tides, which frequently fall out so adverse, as to occasion great delays. Yet this canal by no means annihilates the use of the river Lea to and from its mouth: but barges go indifferently either way, as conveniency, or the circumstances above-mentioned, occur. Besides many barges will enter the river

Lea to save the navigation expences of the New Cut.

Limehouse dock is a little farther to the south-east, and is much used.

We finished our walk, and dined at a small house called the *Folly*, on the water's edge, almost opposite to the splendid hospital at Greenwich, where we sat for some hours enjoying the delicious view of the river, and the moving picture of a succession of shipping perpetually passing and repassing.

It is wonderful, that in this great city there should have been no regular census; but that we must depend on the account of the number of inhabitants from the uncertain calculation of the bills of mortality. I will allow them to be delivered annually, by the only censors we have, *the company of parish-clerks*, with all possible accuracy, as far as their knowledge extends: but, as it is admitted that a number of people find their burials in cœmeteries without the bills, equal nearly to those which are annually reported to be interred within their jurisdiction, the uncertainty of the enumeration collected from them must be allowed. In the last year, 19,697 were buried within the bills: if the above assertion* is well founded, the sum must

* Mr. Richardson.

be 39,394. I refer the decision of the numbers of inhabitants to the skilful in calculation. I have heard it averred that the present number is a million. Three ingenious writers have made the following estimates: Mr. Howlet gives in his at 800,000; Mr. Wales at 650,000; and doctor Price at 500,000. Maitland gives the total, in the time of his publication (1756) to have been 725,341*. The increase of London since his days gives a probability that the enumeration is not much exaggerated.

Bills of mortality took rise in 1592, in which began a great pestilence, which continued till the 18th of December, 1595. During this period they were kept in order to ascertain the number of persons who died: but when the plague ceased, the bills were discontinued. They were resumed again in 1603. At the original institution, there were only a hundred and nine parishes: others were gradually added, and, by the year 1681, the number was a hundred and thirty-two: since that time fourteen more have been added, so that the whole amounts to a hundred and forty-six; viz.

* Maitland, ii. 755.—This book is dedicated to Slingsby Bethel, esq. who was lord mayor in that year.

97 within the walls.

16 without the walls.

23 out-parishes in Middlesex and Surry.

10 in the city and liberties of Westminster*.

Among the multitudes who fall victims to disease, is a melancholy account of the rural youth, which crowd here in numbers, labouring under the delusion of preferment: some perish soon, without even attaining a service; and, urged by want, fall under the cognizance of justice. Others get admission into shops, or into places, where they experience hard work, hard wages, hard lodgings, and scanty food. They soon fall ill, are neglected, or flung into an hospital when passed all relief, where they perish. Their native villages want their innocent labour, and the whole rustic community, I may say the whole kingdom, suffers for the indiscreet ambition of these unhappy youths or of their simple parents.

We varied our road on our return, by taking that of *Ratcliff Highway*, a broad and very long street, ending in East Smithfield. On the

* To satisfy the curiosity of those who have not opportunity of seeing a Bill of Mortality, I have printed that of 1788, at the end of this book.

north side stands another of the new fifty churches, St. George's Middlesex; square rises out of square, to compose the steeple; its upper story is incomprehensible, the outside stuck around with chimney-like columns, square at the lower parts, above making a sudden transition into the round. This church was begun in 1715; finished in 1729: and, by the eccentricity of the style, may fairly be suspected to have had Mr. Hawksmoor for its builder.

At the end of this street we found ourselves in the midst of *Rag-fair*, in the fullest hour of business. The articles of commerce by no means belye the name. There is no expressing the poverty of the goods: nor yet their cheapness. A distinguished merchant, engaged with a purchaser, observing me to look on him with great attention, called out to me, as his customer was going off with his bargain, to observe that man, For, says he, I have actually clothed him for fourteen pence.

A little farther on to the east, stood the abbey of *St. Mary of the Graces*, called also the *New Abbey*, and *Eastminster*, in opposition to *Westminster*, in respect to its situation. It was founded by Edward III. in 1349, in the new

church-yard of the Holy Trinity, and filled with Cisterians. That church-yard was made by John Corey, clerk, on occasion of the dreadful pestilence which raged in that reign, so that there was not room in the church-yards to inter the dead. Edward was moved to his piety by a fright he was seized with in a violent storm, in his way to France; when he vowed, if he got safe to shore, he would found a monastery to the honour of God, and the *Lady of Grace*, if she should grant him the *grace* of coming safe on shore*. At the dissolution its revenues, according to Dugdale, amounted to 540*l.* 10*d.* It was granted to sir Arthur Darcie, in 1540, who pulled it entirely down. "In place thereof," says Stow, "is builded
 " a large store-house for victual, and convenient ovens are builded for baking of
 " bisket to serve hir majesties shippes." The present victualling-office succeeded the original building, and is allotted for the same purpose.

From hence I passed by the Tower, to the Custom-house, a little to the west of that fortress. On this spot is the busy concourse of

* Newcourt, i. 465.



Engraved by J. Smith

1795

Custom House

Engraved by J. Smith, Esq. from a drawing by J. Smith

all nations, who pay their tribute towards the support of Great Britain. The present building is of brick and stone; before which, ships of three hundred and fifty tons can lie and discharge their cargo. There was one here, built as early as the year 1385, by John Churchman*, one of the sheriffs of London; but at that period, and long after, the customs were collected in different parts of the city, and in a very irregular manner. About the year 1559 the loss to the revenue was first discovered, and an act passed to compel people to land their goods in such places as were appointed by the commissioners of the revenue; and this was the spot fixed on: a custom-house was erected, which, being destroyed by the great fire, was re-built by Charles II. In 1718 it underwent the same fate, and was restored in its present form. Before the custom-house was established here, the principal place for receiving the duties was at Billingsgate. As early as 979, or the reign of Etheldred, a small vessel was to pay *ad Bilynggesgate* one penny halfpenny as a toll; a greater, bearing sails, one penny; a keel or hulk (*Ceol vel Hulcus*) four-pence; a

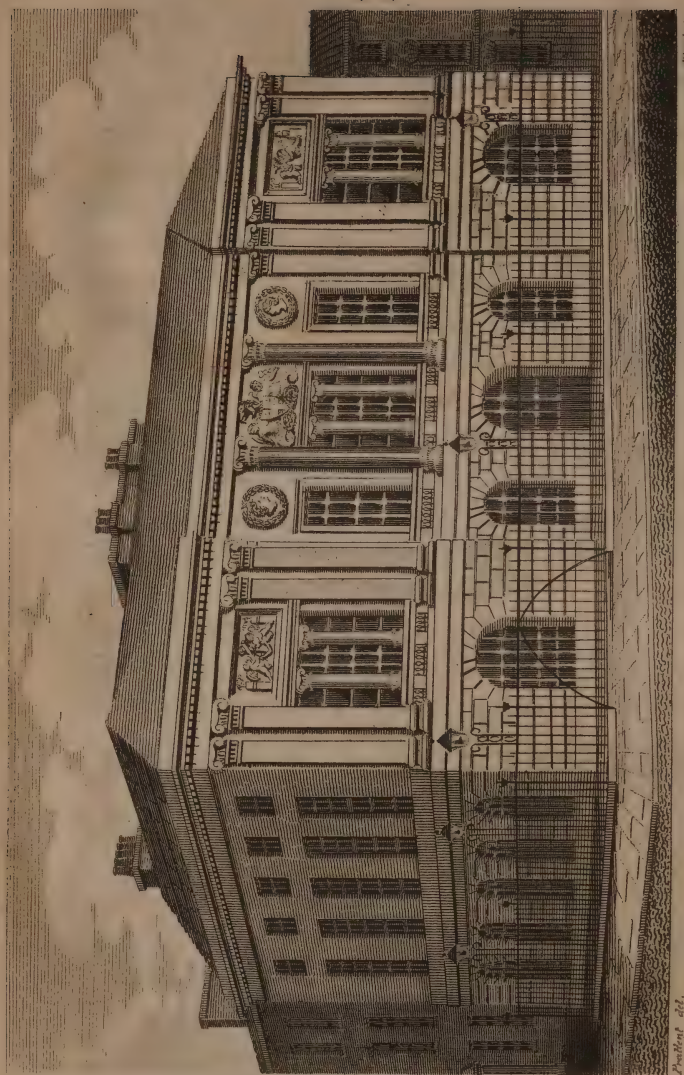
* Strype's Stow, ii. book iv. 114.

ship laden with wood, one piece for toll; and a boat with fish, one halfpenny; or a larger, one penny*. We had even now trade with France for its wines; for mention is made of ships from Rouen, who came here and landed them, and freed them from toll, *i. e.* payed their duties. What they amounted to I cannot learn. But in 1268 the half-year's customs, for foreign merchandize in the city of London, came only to 75*l.* 6*s.* 10*d.* In 1331, they amounted to 8000*l.* a-year. In 1354, the duty on imports was only 580*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; on our exports (wool and felts) 81,624*l.* 1*s.* 1*d.* Well may Mr. Anderson observe† the temperance and sobriety of the age, when we consider the small quantities of wine and other luxuries used in these kingdoms.

In 1590, the latter end of the glorious reign of Elizabeth, our customs brought in 50,000*l.* a-year. They had at first been farmed at 14,000*l.* a-year; afterwards raised to 42,000*l.* and finally to the sum I mention, and still to the same person, sir Thomas Smith.

In 1613, by the peaceful politics of James I. our imports brought in 48,250*l.*; our exports

* Brompton x Scriptores, i. col. 897. † Dictionary, i. 186.



Parliament del.

Black, sc.

The Society House, Tower Hill.

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61,322*l.* 16*s.* 7*d.* the whole of the revenue, from the customs, amounting this year to 109,572*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.* in the port of London only. Our exports from the out-ports raised 25,471*l.* 9*s.* 9*d.*; the imports 13,030*l.* 9*s.* 9*d.*; the sum total was 148,075*l.* 7*s.* 8*d.*

In 1641, just before the beginning of our troubles, the customs brought in 500,000*l.* a-year; the effect of a long series of peaceful days. The effects of our civil broils appeared strongly in 1666, when they suffered a decrease of 110,000*l.* From the year 1671 to 1688, they were at a medium 555,752*l.* In the year 1709, notwithstanding a fierce war raged for many years, they were raised to 2,319,320*l.* For want of materials, I am obliged to pass to the annual produce of the customs, ending in April, 1789, which amounted to 3,711,126*l.*

In Water-lane, a little to the north-west of the custom-house, is the *Trinity-house*; a society founded in 1515, at a period in which the British navy began to assume a system. The founder was sir Thomas Spert, comptroller of the navy, and commander of the great ship - *Henry Grace de Dieu*. It is a corporation, consisting of a master, four wardens, eight as-

sistants, and eighteen elder brethren*; selected from commanders in the navy and the merchants' service; and now and then a compliment is payed to one or two of our first nobility. They may be considered as guardians of our ships, military and commercial. Their powers are very extensive: they examine the mathematical children of Christ's hospital; masters of his majesty's ships; they appoint pilots for the river Thames; settle the general rates of pilotage; erect light-houses, and sea-marks; grant licences to poor seamen, not free of the city, to row on the Thames; prevent foreigners from serving on board our ships without licence; punish seamen for mutiny and desertion; hear and determine complaints of officers and men in the merchants' service, but liable to appeal to the judge of the court of admiralty; superintend the deepening and cleansing of the river Thames, and have under their jurisdiction the ballast-office; have powers to buy lands, and receive donations for charitable uses; and, in consequence, relieve annually many thousands of poor seamen, their widows and orphans.

* The whole corporation are usually called The Thirty-one Brethren. See a full account in Strype's Stow, ii. book v. p. 286-7.

This house is unworthy of the greatness of its design. In the council-room are some portraits of eminent men. The most remarkable is that of sir John Leake, with his lank grey locks, and a loose night gown, with a mien very little indicative of his high courage, and active spirit. He was the greatest commander of his time, and engaged in most actions of note during the reigns of king William and queen Anne. To him was committed the desperate, but successful attempt of breaking the boom, previous to the relief of Londonderry. He distinguished himself greatly at the battle of La Hogue; assisted at the taking of Gibraltar; and afterwards, as commander-in-chief, reduced Barcelona; took Carthage, and brought Sardinia and Minorca to submit to Charles, rival to Philip for the crown of Spain. He was made a lord of the admiralty, but declined the offer of being head of the commission. At the accession of George I. averse to the new family, he retired; but with the approving pension of 600*l.* a-year. He lived privately at Greenwich, where he died in 1720, and was buried in a manner suitable to his merits, in the church at Stepney.

It is in this house the business of the institu-

tion is carried on : but the mother-house is at Deptford, the corporation being named, *The master, wardens, and assistants of the guild or fraternity of the most glorious and undivided Trinity*, and of St. Clement, in the parish of Deptford Strond, in the county of Kent*.

After the custom-house, the first place of note is *Billingsgate*, or, to adapt the spelling to conjectures of antiquaries, “ who go beyond “ the realms of Chaos and old night,” Belinsgate, or the gate of Belinus king of Britain, fellow-adventurer with Brennus king of the Gauls, at the sacking of Rome, three hundred and sixty years before the Christian æra : and the *Beli Mawr*, who graces the pedigrees of numbers of us ancient Britons. For fear of falling on some inglorious name, I submit to the etymology ; but must confess there does not appear any record of a gate at this place : his son Lud was more fortunate, for Ludgate preserves his memory to every citizen, who knows the just value of antiquity. Gate, here signifies only a place where there was a concourse of people† ; a common quay or wharf, where there is a free going in and out to the

* Strype's Maitland, ii. book v. p. 286.

† Skinner's Etymology.

same*. This was a small port for the reception of shipping, and, for a considerable time, the most important place for the landing of almost every article of commerce. It was not till the reign of king William that it became celebrated as a fish-market; who, in 1699, by act of parliament made it a free port for fish, which might be sold there every day in the week except Sunday. The object of this has long been frustrated, and the epicure who goes (as was a frequent practice) to Billingsgate to eat fish in perfection, will now be cruelly disappointed.

I cannot give a list of the fish most acceptable in the Saxon ages; but there is a list left of those which were brought to market in that of Edward I. who descended even to regulate the prices, that his subjects might not be left to the mercy of the venders.

	s.	d.
The best plaice	0	1½
A dozen of best soles	0	3
Best fresh mulvil, <i>i. e.</i> molva, } either cod or ling	0	3
Best hadock	0	2
Best barkey	0	4

* Edward I. his grant of Botolph's quay.

	s.	d.
Best mullet	0	2
Best dorac, John Doree?	0	5
Best conger	1	0
Best turbot	0	6
Best bran, sard, and betule	0	3
Best mackrel, in Lent	0	1
And out of Lent	0	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
Best gurnard	0	1
Best fresh merlings, <i>i. e.</i> mer- langi, whittings, four for	0	1
Best powdered ditto, 12 for	0	1
Best pickled herrings*, twenty.	0	1
Best fresh ditto, before Michael- mas, six for	0	1
Ditto, after Michaelmas, twelve for	0	1
Best Thames, or Severn lamprey	0	4
Best fresh oysters, a gallon for	0	2
A piece of rumb, gross and fat, 1 suspect holibut, which is usu- ally sold in pieces, at	0	4
Best sea-hog, <i>i. e.</i> porpesse	6	8

* This shows that the invention of pickling was before the time of William Benkelen, who died in 1397. See Brit. Zool. art. Herring.

	s.	d.
Best eels, a strike, or $\frac{1}{4}$ hundred ..	0	2
Best lampreys, in winter, the } hundred	0	8

But we also imported lampreys from Nantes: the first which came in was not sold at less than 1s. 4d.—a month after at 8d.

Ditto at other times	0	6
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These, by their cheapness, must have been the little lampreys now used for bait.

Best fresh salmon, from Christ- } mas to Easter, for	5	0
Ditto, after ditto	3	0
Best smelts, the hundred	0	1
Best roche, in summer	0	1
Best Lucy, or pike, at	6	8

By the very high price of the pike, it is very probable that this fish had not yet been introduced into our ponds, but was imported at this period as a luxury, pickled, or some way preserved.

Among these fish, let me observe, that the conger is, at present, never admitted to any

good table; and to speak of serving up a porpesse whole, or in part, would set your guests a staring. Yet, such is the difference of taste, both these fishes were in high esteem. King Richard's master cooks have left a most excellent receipt for *Congur in Sawse**; and as for the other great fish, it was either eaten roasted, or salted, or in broth, or *furmente with porpesse*†. The learned doctor Caius even tells us the proper sauce, and says, that it should be the same with that for a dolphin‡; another dish unheard of in our days. From the great price the Lucy or pike bore§, one may reasonable suspect that it was at that time an exotic fish, and brought over at a vast expence.

I confess myself unacquainted with the words *Barkey*, *Bran*, and *Betule*: *Sard* was probably the Sardine or Pilchard: I am equally at a loss about *Croplings*, and *Rumb*: but the pickled *Balenes* were certainly the *Pholas Dactylus* of Linnæus, 1110; the *Balanus* of *Rondeletius de Testaceis*, 28; and the *Dattili* of the modern Italians, which are to this day eaten, and even pickled.

To this list of sea-fish, which were admitted

* *Forme of Cury*, 52. † *Ibid.* 53, 39, 56.

‡ *Caii opuscula*, 116. § *British Zoology*, iii. 320.

in those days to table, may be added the sturgeon, and ling; and there is twice mention, in archbishop Nevill's great feast, of a certain fish, both roasted and baked, unknown at present, called a *thirle-poole*.

The seal was also reckoned a fish, and, with the sturgeon and porpess, were the only fresh fish which, by the 33d of Henry VIII. were permitted to be bought of any stranger at sea, between England and France, Flanders, and Zealand.

A little to the west is *London-bridge*. The year of its foundation is not settled. The first mention of it is in the laws of Ethelred, which fix the tolls of vessels coming to Billingsgate, or *ad Pontem*. It could not be prior to the year 993, when Unlaf, the Dane, sailed up the river as high as Stains*, without interruption: nor yet after the year 1016, in which Ethelred died: and the great Canute, king of Denmark, when he besieged London, was impeded in his operations by a bridge, which even at that time must have been strongly fortified, to oblige him to have recourse to the following vast expedient:—He caused a prodigious ditch to be cut

* Saxon Chron. 148.

on the south side of the Thames, at Rotherhithe, or Redriff, a little to the east of Southwark, which he continued at a distance from the south end of the bridge, in form of a semicircle, opening into the western part of the river. Through this he drew his ships, and effectually completed the blockade of the city*. But the valour of the citizens obliged him to raise the siege. Evidences of this great work were found in the place called The Dock Head, at Redriff, where it began. Fascines of hazels, and other brushwood, fastened down with stakes, were discovered in digging that dock, in 1694; and in other parts of its course have been met with, in ditching, large oaken planks, and numbers of piles†.

The bridge originated from the public spirit of the college of priests of St. Mary Overie. Before, there had been a ferry, left by her parents to their only daughter Mary; who, out of the profits, founded a nunnery, and endowed it with the profits of the boat. This house was afterwards converted into the college of priests, who not only built the bridge, but kept it in repair: but it must be understood that the first

* Sax. Chron. 148. † Maitland, i. 35.

bridge was of timber, the materials at hand, and most probably rudely put together. This account is given by Stow, from the report of Bartholomew Linsted, alias Fowle, last prior of St. Marie Overie; but was doubted, because the work has been supposed to be too great, and too disinterested for a college of priests, who were to give up the certain profits of the ferry, for those resulting precariously from an expensive undertaking. Even the existence of a religious house before the Conquest has been suspected: but the Domesday book puts that out of doubt, by informing us, *Ipse episcopus habet unum monasterium in Sudwerche*. Numbers of useful, as well as pious works, in early days, originated from the instigation of the churchmen, who often had the honour of being called the founders, when the work itself was performed by their devotees. Neither is it to be supposed that they could keep it in repair: the same zeal which impelled people to contribute to the building, operated in the vestiture of land for its support; and this appears to have been done by several instances; yet the endowments were so small, that a supplementary tax was often raised.

In 1136, the bridge was burnt down. By the

year 1163 it grew so ruinous as to occasion its being re-built, under the care of one Peter, curate of St. Mary Colechurch, a celebrated architect of those times. It was soon after determined to build a bridge of stone, and about the year 1176, the same Peter was employed again. It proved a work of thirty-three years : the architect died four years before it was completed ; and another clergyman, Isenbert, master of the schools of Xainctes, was recommended to the citizens by king John, for the honor of finishing it ; but they rejected their prince's choice, and committed the work to three merchants of London, who completed it in 1209. Peter was buried in a beautiful chapel, probably of his own construction, dedicated to St. Thomas, which stood on the east side, in the ninth pier from the north end, and had an entrance from the river, as well as the street, by a winding staircase. It was beautifully paved with black and white marble, and in the middle was a tomb, supposed to contain the remains of Peter the architect.

This great work was founded on enormous piles, driven as closely as possible together : on their tops were laid long planks ten inches thick strongly bolted ; and on them were placed the

base of the pier, the lowermost stones of which were bedded in pitch, to prevent the water from damaging the work: round all were the piles which are called the *sterlings*, designed for the preservation of the foundation piles. These contracted the space between the piers so greatly, as to occasion, at the retreat of every tide, a fall of five feet, or a number of temporary cataracts, which, since the foundation of the bridge, have occasioned the loss of many thousand lives. The water, at spring tides, rises to the height of about eighteen feet. The length of this vast work is nine hundred and fifteen feet, the exact breadth of the river. The number of arches was nineteen, of unequal dimensions, and greatly deformed by the *sterlings*, and the houses on each side, which overhung and leaned in a most terrific manner. In most places they hid the arches, and nothing appeared but the rude piers. I well remember the street on London-bridge, narrow, darksome, and dangerous to passengers from the multitude of carriages: frequent arches of strong timber crossed the street, from the tops of the houses, to keep them together, and from falling into the river. Nothing but use could preserve the rest of the inmates, who soon grew deaf to

the noise of the falling waters, the clamors of watermen, or the frequent shrieks of drowning wretches. Most of the houses were tenanted by pin or needle makers, and æconomical ladies were wont to drive from the St. James's end of the town, to make cheap purchases. Fuller tells us, that Spanish needles were made here first in Cheapside, by a negro, who died without communicating the art. Elias Crowse, a German, in the reign of Elizabeth, was more liberal, and first taught the method to the English. Fuller's definition of a needle is excellent, *quasi ne idle*.

In the bridge were three openings on each side, with ballustrades, to give passengers a sight of the water and shipping. In one part had been a draw-bridge, useful either by way of defence, or for the admission of ships into the upper part of the river. This was protected by a strong tower. It served to repulse Fauconbridge the Bastard, in his general assault on the city in 1471, with a set of banditti, under pretence of rescuing the unfortunate Henry, then confined in the Tower. Sixty houses were burnt on the occasion*. It also served to

* Holinshed, 690.

check, and in the end annihilate, the ill-conducted insurrection of sir Thomas Wyatt, in the reign of queen Mary. The top of this tower, in the sad and turbulent days of this kingdom, used to be the shambles of human flesh, and covered with heads or quarters of unfortunate partizans. Even so late as the year 1598, Hentzner, the German traveller, with German accuracy, counted on it above thirty heads*. The old map of the city, in 1597, represents them in a most horrible cluster.

At the south end of the bridge one Peter Corbis, a Dutchman†, in the year 1582, invented an engine to force the water of the Thames into leaden pipes, to supply many of the adjacent parts of the city. It has, since that time, been so greatly improved, by the skill of the English mechanics, as to become a most curious as well as useful piece of machinery, and to be extremely worthy the attention of that branch of science.

I must not quit the bridge, without noticing an unparalleled calamity which happened on it within four years after it was finished. A fire began on it at the Southwark end; multi-

* Fugitive Pieces, vol. ii. 243.

† Stow's Survaie.—London and its Environs, iv. 146.

tudes of people rushed out of London to extinguish it ; while they were engaged in this charitable design, the fire seized on the opposite end, and hemmed in the crowd. Above three thousand persons perished in the flames, or were drowned by overloading the vessels which were hardy enough to attempt their relief.

The gallant action of Edmund Osborne, ancestor to the duke of Leeds, when he was apprentice to sir William Hewet, cloth-worker, must by no means be forgotten. About the year 1536, when his master lived in one of these tremendous houses, a servant-maid was playing with his only daughter in her arms, in a window over the water, and accidentally dropt the child. Young Osborne, who was witness to the misfortune, instantly sprung into the river, and, beyond all expectation, brought her safe to the terrified family. Several persons of rank payed their addresses to her, when she was marriageable ; among others, the earl of Shrewsbury : but sir William gratefully decided in favour of Osborne ; Osborne, says he, saved her, and Osborne shall enjoy her *. In her right he possessed a great fortune. He be-

* Stow, ii. book v. 133—and Collins's Peerage, i. 235.

came sheriff of London in 1575; and lord mayor in 1582. I have seen the picture of his master at Kiveton, the seat of the duke of Leeds, a half length on board; his dress is a black gown furred, a red vest and sleeve, a gold chain, and a bonnet. He served the office of lord mayor in 1559; and died in 1566. Strype mistakes; when he says, that sir William died in 1599, and was buried in the cathedral of St. Paul: another person of the same name lies there; under the handsome monument* ascribed by our old historian to the former.

Of the multitudes who have perished in this rapid descent, the names of no one, of any note, has reached my knowledge, except that of Mr. Temple, only son of the great sir William Temple. His end was dreadful, as it was premeditated. He had, a week, before, accepted, from king William, the office of secretary of war. On the 14th of April, 1689, he hired a boat on the Thames, and directed the waterman to shoot the bridge; at that instant he flung himself into the torrent, and, having filled his pockets with stones, to destroy all chance of safety †, instantly sunk. In the boat

* Engraven in Dugdale's History of St. Paul's, 66.

† Reresby's Memoirs, 346.

was found a note to this effect: " My folly, in
" undertaking what I could not perform,
" whereby some misfortunes have befallen the
" king's service, is the cause of my putting
" myself to this sudden end. I wish him suc-
" cess in all his undertakings, and a better ser-
" vant." I hope his father's reflection, on
the occasion, was a parental apology, not his
real sentiments: " that a wise man might dis-
" pose of himself, and make his life as short as
" he pleased." How strongly did this great
man militate against the precepts of Christi-
anity, and the solid arguments of a most wise
and pious heathen *!

Very near to the northern end of the bridge,
is the church of *St. Magnus*. It is probably
a church of great antiquity; yet the first men-
tion is in 1433. It was consumed in the great
fire, but within ten years was restored in the
present handsome style. The bottom of the
tower is open, so as to admit a most conveni-
ent thoroughfare to the numerous passengers.

A little higher up, on the left hand, is *East-
cheap*, immortalized by Shakespeare, as the
place of rendezvous of sir John Falstaff and his

* Cicero, in his *Somnium Scipionis*.

merry companions. Here stood the *Boar's Head* tavern; the site is now covered with modern houses, but in the front of one is still preserved the memory of the sign, the *Boar's Head*, cut in stone. Notwithstanding the house is gone, we shall laugh at the humour of the jovial knight, his Hostess, Bardolph, and Pistol, as long as the descriptive pages of our great dramatic writer exist in our entertained imagination. I must mention, that in the wall of another house is a *Swan*, cut in stone; probably, in old times, the sign of another tavern.

The renowned Henry, prince of Wales, was not the only one of the royal family, whose youthful blood led them into frolic and riot. His brothers John, and Thomas, with their attendants, between two and three o'clock, after midnight, raised such an uproar, that the mayor and sheriffs thought proper to interfere. This the princes took as an insult on their dignity. The magistrates were convened by the celebrated chief justice Gascoigne; they stood on their defence, and were most honourably dismissed, it being proved that they did no more than their duty, towards the maintenance of the peace*.

* Stow's Survaie, 404.

This street was famous, in old times, for its convivial doings: "The cookes cried hot ribbes
" of beef roasted, pies well baked, and other
" victuals*: there was clattering of pewter,
" pots, harpe, pipe, and sawtrie." Evident marks of the jollity of this quarter.

In *Pudding-lane*, at a very small distance from this church, begun the ever-memorable calamity by fire, on the 2d of September, 1666. In four days it consumed every part of this noble city within the walls, except what lies within a line drawn from the north part of Coleman-street, and just to the south-west of Leadenhall, and from thence to the Tower. Its ravages were also extended without the walls, to the west, as far as Fetter-lane, and the Temple. As it begun in *Pudding-lane*, it ended in Smithfield at *Pye-corner*; which might occasion the inscription with the figure of a boy, on a house in the last place, now almost erased, which attributes *the fire of London to the sin of gluttony*. I leave the reader to consult the second volume of the City Remembrancer, for the melancholy detail.

Sir Christopher Wren was coeval to this

* Stow's Survaie, 404.

View of Port of London, as it appeared in the Great Fire, 1666.









The Monument

Published by J. Coadhead Holwell Street Strand Jaro's Alley.

misfortune. The plans his great genius offered to the public for re-building the city, with genuine taste, and a splendour worthy of ancient Rome, were unfortunately rejected. Perhaps the times are not greatly to be blamed; there were a thousand difficulties in respect to the division of property; there was, in a vast commercial city, such as London, a hurry to resume their former occupations, and a prejudice for ancient sites. It was difficult to persuade people to relinquish, for a mere work of taste, a spot productive of thousands, to them or their predecessors. These things considered, it is not to be wondered that we are left to admire, on paper only, the vast designs of our great architect. But still he was the restorer of several of our public buildings: many of our temples arose with improved beauty from his plans; and several other buildings, which we have had, or shall have occasion of mentioning.

That astonishing proof of his genius, the *Monument*, is placed on the side of Fish-street, very near to the spot where the calamity began;

Where London's column, pointing at the skies,
Like a tall bully lifts its head and lyes.

It is a Doric column, two hundred and two feet

high, fluted, and finished with a trifling urn with flames, instead of a noble statue of the reigning king, as the great architect proposed. On the cap of the pedestal, at the angles, are four dragons, the supporters of the city arms: these cost two hundred pounds, and were the work of Edward Pierce, jun. On the west side of the pedestal is a bas relief, cut by Gabriel Cibber, in admirable taste. It represents emblematically this sad catastrophe: Charles is seen, surrounded with Liberty, Genius, and Science, giving directions for the restoring of the city. Here the sculptor found, luckily, one example to compliment the attention of the thoughtless monarch towards the good of his subjects; for, during the horrors of the conflagration, and after it was subdued, his endeavours to stop the evil, and to remedy the effect, were truly indefatigable. The king was seriously affected by this calamity, and many emotions of piety and devotion were excited in him. There was, for a short time, great reason to expect the fruits of this his brief return to Heaven: but they were quickly blasted by the uncommon wickedness of the people about him, who, by every prophane witticism on the recent calamity, and even by

suggesting that it was the blessing of God, to humble this rebellious city, and to prepare it for his yoke, soon removed every good thought from the royal breast*. This noble column was begun in 1671; and finished in 1677, at the expence of 14,500*l*. A melancholy period of party rage! and the injurious inscription on the Monument, written by doctor Thomas Gale, afterwards dean of York, was permitted.

The damage sustained by the cruel element, was computed at ten millions seven hundred and sixteen thousand pounds. But Providence, mingling mercy with justice, suffered only the loss of eight lives.

Great as this calamity was, yet it proved the providential cause of putting a stop to one of a far more tremendous nature. The plague, which, for a series of ages, had, with very short intervals, visited our capital in its most dreadful forms, never appeared there again after the re-building of the city in a more open and airy manner, which removed several nuisances; which, if not the actual origin of a plague, was assuredly one great *pabulum*, when it had seized our streets. The last was in the

* Continuation of Lord Clarendon's Life, 675.

year 1665, when in about six months, by the smallest computation, made by the earl of Clarendon (who thought it much under-rated) a hundred and threescore thousand people fell by the destroying angel: his lordship instances a mistake in one of the weekly bills, which was reported with only six thousand deaths: yet the amount of that week was fourteen thousand*. Notwithstanding this, doctor Hodges, in his book *De Peste*, collects from the bills of mortality, that the sum of the dead, who fell by the pestilence, was not more than sixty-eight thousand five hundred and ninety-six.

Marseilles' good bishop must not engross every tongue. We had in our capital, during this sad calamity, heroes that might vie in piety with that worthy prelate. Sir John Laurence, lord mayor in the year of the plague, showed equal intrepidity, humanity, and charity. Fear of the disease seemed to have steeled the hearts of men; for, as soon as its nature was certainly known, above forty thousand servants were turned into the streets to perish: no one would receive them into their houses; and the villagers near London drove them away with pitch-

* Continuation of the Life of Edward Earl of Clarendon, octavo ed. vol. iii. p. 620.

forks, and fire-arms *. Sir John Laurence took these wretched fugitives under his protection, relieved them with his own fortune as long as that lasted, and then by subscriptions which he solicited from all parts. The king contributed a thousand pounds a week: in the whole, the vast sum of a hundred thousand pounds was weekly distributed †.

The heroism of George Monk, duke of Albemarle, and William earl Craven, must not pass unnoticed; their virtue forbade them to absent themselves in this dire season. They, in conjunction with the civil magistrate, took every means to alleviate the calamity, and to prevent its progress: here their valour was put to the test; and, amidst the horrors of death, which no wisdom could avert, they behaved with the same coolness as when they were supported by the glory of victory, amidst the thunder of artillery, and flights of bullets. In archbishop Sheldon was united the firm courage of the former characters, with the piety of a churchman. He continued at Lambeth during the whole contagion: preserving, by his charities, multitudes who were sinking under the pressure

* Journal of the Plague-year.

† London's Remembrancer, 418.

of disease and want ; and, by his pathetic letters to his suffragans, procured from their dioceses benevolences to a vast amount.

Almost opposite to the place where the Monument now stands, was a large stone house, the habitation of Edward, our famous black prince, the flower of English chivalry. In Stow's time it was altered to a common hosterie or inn, having a black bell for the sign*.

At a small distance, to the west of the bridge, is *Fishmongers'-hall*, a very handsome building, erected since the destruction of the old hall by the great fire. It faces the river, and commands a fine view of the water and the bridge. In the court-room are several pictures of the various sorts of vendible fishes. A printed catalogue of the species and varieties, with their seasons, was presented to me when I visited the place. At this and every other hall I met with the utmost urbanity. As an humble historian of the fishy fribe, I trust that I am not to be condemned to the Pygmalion prospect of these delicacies ; but, on my next visit to town, may be honoured with a card, in order to form a practical judgment of what hitherto have only feasted my eyes!!!

* Survaie, 403.

In the great hall is a wooden statue of the brave sir William Walworth, armed with his rebel-killing dagger; here is also another of St. Peter: the former was of this company; the latter with great propriety is adopted as its titular saint. The arms of the benefactors are beautifully expressed in painted glass on the several windows.

This is one of the twelve great companies; it originally was divided into stock-mongers, and saltfish-mongers; the first were incorporated in 1433; a period in which we had very considerable trade with Iceland in that very article*: the last not till 1509, but were united in 1536. There was once a desperate feud between this company and the goldsmiths, about precedency. The parties grew so violent, that the mayor and aldermen, by their own authority, were obliged to pronounce them rebels, and even *banifiati*, or banished the city, such of them who persisted in their contumacy†. I fear that, in old times, the goldsmiths were a pugnacious society; for I read, in 1269, of a desperate battle between them and the taylors. This company pays 800*l.* a-year to charitable uses.

* See Arct. Zool. Introd.

† Stow, ii. book v. 184.

The next place I take notice of, to the west of this hall, was *Cold Harbour*, mentioned as a tenement as early as the reign of Edward II. A magnificent house was, in after-times, built on the spot, which, from its occupant, sir John Poultney, four times mayor of London, was, in the style of the times, called *Poultney-inn*: for the town habitations of most of the great men were called *inns*. *Warwick-inn* was the palace of the great king-maker, and many others had the same addition. In feudal days the town had no pleasures to attract the great; they seldom came there but to support a cause (as now and then is the case with a modern senator), to make or unmake a king, or lay the foundation of civil broils. In 1397, it was the inn of John Holland, duke of Exeter, and earl of Huntingdon, who here gave a dinner, and doubtlessly a very magnificent one, to his half-brother Richard II. Next year it became the inn of Edmund of Langley, earl of Cambridge, but still retained the addition of Poultney. In 1410, Henry IV. granted this house to his son Henry prince of Wales, by the title of *quoddam hospitium sive placeam* (vocatum *le Coldeherbergh*) for the term of his life. And in the same year (to stock his cellars) gives him an

order on the collector of the customs for twenty casks and one pipe of red wine of Gascogny, and that without the payment of any duty. In 1472, Henry Holland, duke of Exeter, lodged in it. In 1485, Richard III. granted it to Garter king of arms, and his brother heralds. In the time of Henry VIII. it became the lodgings of Tonstal, bishop of Durham. On his deposal it was granted to the earl of Shrewsbury, by Edward VI. and changed its name to that of Shrewsbury-house.

To the west of this place was the *Steel-yard*, a most noted quay for the landing of wheat, rye, and other grain: cables, masts, tar, flax, hemp, linen cloth, wainscot, wax, steel, and other merchandize, imported by the Easterlings, or Germans. Here was the *Guildhalda Teutonicorum*, or Guildhall of those people. They were our masters in the art of commerce, and settled here even before the eleventh century. For we find them here in the year 979, at least in the time of king Ethelred: for the emperor's men, *i. e.* the Germans of the Steel-yard, coming with their ships, were accounted worthy of good laws. They were not to forestall the market from the burghers of London; and to pay toll, at Christmas, two grey cloths,

and one brown one, with ten pounds of pepper, five pair of gloves, two vessels of vinegar; and as many at Easter. The name of this wharf is not taken from steel the metal, which was only a single article, but from *Stael-hoff*, contracted from *Stapel-hoff*, or the general house of trade of the German nation. The powerful league of the Hanse Towns, and the profits we made of their trade (for they were a long season the great importers of this kingdom) procured for them great privileges. They had an alderman of London for their judge, in case of disputes; and they were to be free from all subsidies to the king, or his heirs; saving, says the king, to us and our heirs, our ancient prizes, *prisis juribusque consuetudinibus costumisque**. In return for these distinguishing favours, they were to keep in repair the gate called Bishopsgate. In 1282, they were called on to perform their duty, the gate being at that time in a ruinous state; they refused; but being compelled by law, Gerard Marbod, their alderman, advanced the necessary sum. In 1479, it was even re-built in a most magnificent manner, by the merchants of

* Rymer, 498.

the Steel-yard. As they decreased in strength, and we grew more powerful and more politic, we began to abridge their privileges. We found that this potent company, by their weight, interfered with the interest of the natives, and damped their spirit of trade. After several revocations and renewals of the charter, the house, in 1597, was shut up, by our wise and patriotic queen, and the German inhabitants expelled the kingdom.

At this time it is the great repository of the imported iron, which furnishes our metropolis with that necessary material. The quantity of bars, that fill the yards and warehouses of this quarter, strike with astonishment the most indifferent beholder. Next to the water-side are two eagles, with imperial crowns round their necks, placed on two columns.

In the hall of this company were the two famous pictures, painted in distemper by Holbein, representing the triumphs of Riches and Poverty. They were lost, being supposed to have been carried into Flanders, on the destruction of the company, and from thence into France. I am to learn where they are at present, unless in the cabinet of M. Fleischman, at Hesse-Darmstadt. The celebrated Christian

a Mechel, of Basil, has lately published two engravings of these pictures, either from the originals, or the drawings by Zuccherò; for Frid. Zuccherò, 1574, is at one corner of each print. Drawings of these pictures were found in England, by Vertue, ascribed to Holbein; and the verses over them to sir Thomas More*. It appears that Zuccherò copied them at the Steel-yard†, so probably those copies, in process of time, might have fallen into the hands of M. Fleischman.

In the triumph of Riches, Plutus is represented in a golden car, and Fortune sitting before him flinging money into the laps of people, holding up their garments to receive her favors: Ventidius is wrote under one; Gadareus under another; and Themistocles under a man kneeling beside the car: Cræsus, Midas, and Tantalus follow; Narcissus holds the horse of the first: over their heads, in the clouds, is Nemesis. There are various allegorical figures, I shall not attempt to explain. By the sides of the horses walk dropsical and other diseased figures, the too frequent attendants of riches.

Poverty appears in another car, mean and

* Mr. Walpole's Anecdotes, i. 83.

† The same, p. 83, 142.

shattered, half naked, squalid, and meagre. Behind her sits *Misfortune*; before her *Memory*, *Experience*, *Industry*, and *Hope*. The car is drawn by a pair of oxen, and a pair of asses; *Diligence* drives the ass; and *Solicitude*, with a face of care, goads the ox. By the sides of the car walks *Labor*, represented by lusty workmen with their tools, with cheerful looks; and behind them *Misery*, and *Beggary*, in ragged weeds, and with countenances replete with wretchedness and discontent.

Not remote from hence, formerly stood the *Erber*, a vast house or palace. Edward III. for it is not traced higher, granted it to one of the noble family of the Scroopes; from them it fell to the Nevills. Richard, the great earl of Warwick, possessed it, and lodged here his father, the earl of Salisbury, with five hundred men, in the famous congress of barons, in the year 1458, in which Henry VI. may be said to have been virtually deposed. It often changed masters: Richard III. repaired it, in whose time it was called the King's Palace. It was re-built by sir Thomas Pullison, mayor, in 1584; and afterwards dignified by being the residence of our illustrious navigator sir Francis Drake.

Beyond the Steel-yards is *Dowgate*, now a

place of little note. Here stood one of the Roman gates, through which was the way for passengers, who took boat at the *trajectus*, or ferry, into the continuation of the military way towards Dover. The Britons are supposed to have given it the name of *Dwr* or *Dwy*, water; and the Saxons added the word *gate*, which signifies way. It became a noted wharf, and was called the port of Downgate. In the time of Henry III. and Edward III. customs were to be paid by ships resting there, in the same manner as if they rode at Queenhithe.

Near Dowgate runs concealed into the Thames the ancient *Wal-brook*, or river of Wells, mentioned in a charter of the Conqueror to the college of St. Martin le Grand. It rises to the north of Moorfields, and passed through London Wall, between Bishopsgate and Moorgate, and ran through the city; for a long time it was quite exposed, and had over it several bridges, which were maintained by the priors of certain religious houses, and others. Between two and three centuries ago it was vaulted over with brick*; the top paved, and formed into a street; and, for a long time past, known only by name.

* Stow's Survaie, 16.

The *Three Cranes*, in the *Vintry*, was the next wharf, which, in old times, by royal order, was allotted for the landing of wines, as the name imports. The cranes were the three machines used for the landing of the wines, such as we use to this day. In the adjacent lane was the *Painted Tavern*, famous as early as the time of Richard II. In this neighbourhood was the great house called the *Vintrie*, with vast wine-vaults beneath. Here, in 1314, resided sir John Gisors, lord mayor, and constable of the Tower. But the memorable feasting of another owner, sir Henry Picard, vintner, lord mayor in 1356, must not be forgotten, who, “ in one day, did sumptuously
“ feast Edward king of England, John king
“ of France, the king of Cipres (then arrived
“ in England), David king of Scots, Edward
“ prince of Wales, with many noblemen, and
“ other; and after, the sayd Henry Picard
“ kept his hall against all commers whosoeuer,
“ that were willing to play at dice and hazard.
“ In like manner the lady Margaret, his wife,
“ did also keepe her chamber to the same intent.
“ The king of Cipres, playing with
“ Henry Picard, in his hall, did winne of him
“ fifty markes; but Henry, beeing very skilful

“ in that art, altering his hand, did after winne
 “ of the same king the same fifty markes, and
 “ fifty markes more; which when the same
 “ king began to take in ill part, although hee
 “ dissembled the same, Henry said unto him,
 “ my lord and king, be not agreeued, I court
 “ not your gold, but your play, for I have not
 “ bidd you hither that I might grieue, but that
 “ amongst other things I might your play;
 “ and gave him his money againe, plentifully
 “ bestowing of his owne amongst the retinue:
 “ besides, he gave many rich gifts to the king,
 “ and other nobles and knights, which dined
 “ with him, to the great glory of the citizens
 “ of London in those days*.”

Vintners'-Hall faces Thames-street. It is distinguished by the figure of Bacchus striding his tun, placed on the columns of the gate. In the great hall is a good picture of St. Martin, on a white horse, dividing his cloak with our Saviour, who appeared to him in the year 337, in the character of a beggar.

Hic CHRISTO chlamydem Martinus dimidiavit;
 Ut faciamus idem nobis exemplificavit.

There is, besides, a statue of that saint in the same room; and another picture of him above

* Stow's Annals, 263.

stairs. Why this saint was selected as patron of the company I know not, except they imagined that the saint, actuated by good wine, had been inspired with good thoughts; which, according to the argument of James Howel, producing good works, brought a man to Heaven. And, to show the moral in a contrary effect, here is a picture of Lot and his incestuous daughters, exemplifying the danger of the abuse of the best things.

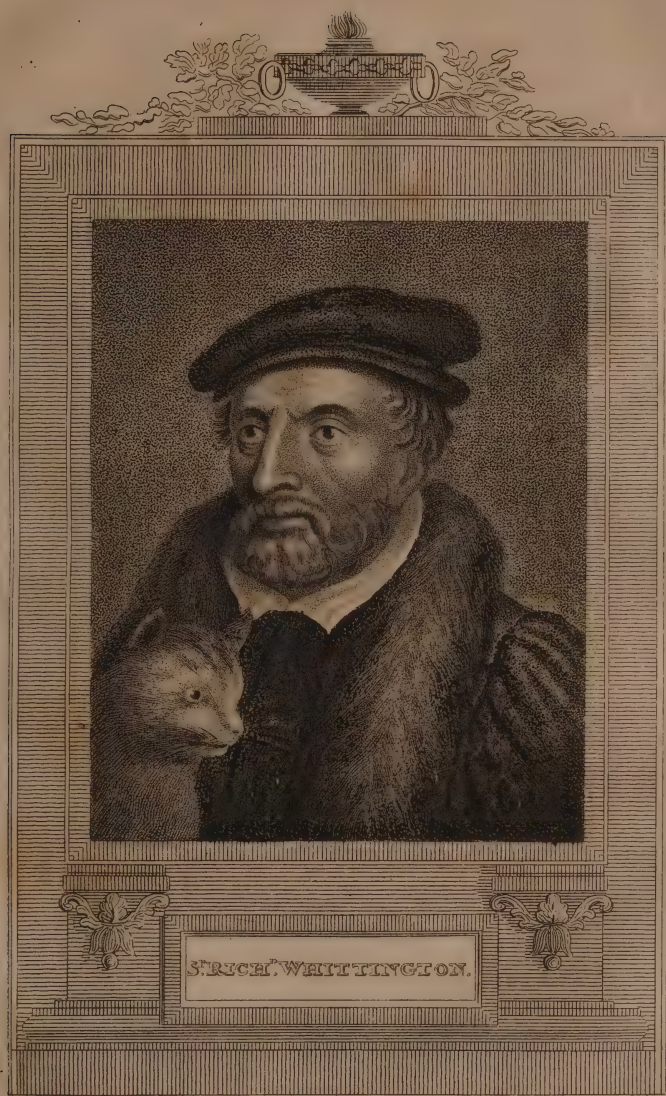
This hall was built on ground given by sir John Stodie, vintner, lord mayor in 1357. It was called the manour of the Vintre. The vintners, or vintonners, were incorporated in the reign of Edward III. They were originally divided into *Vinctarii et Tabernarii*; vintners who imported the wine, and taverners who kept taverns, and retailed it for the former. The company flourished so much, that, from its institution till the year 1711, it produced not fewer than fourteen lord mayors, many of which were the keepers of taverns. Yet, in the time of Edward III. the Gascoigne wines were not sold at the rate of above 4*d.* a gallon; nor the Rhenish above 6*d.* In 1379, red wine was 4*d.* a gallon; and a little after, the price of a tun 4*l.* As late as the year 1552, the

Guienne and Gascoigne wines were sold at 8*d.* a gallon: and no wines were to exceed the price of 12*d.* To restrain luxury, it was at the same time enacted, that no person, except those who could expend 100 marks annually, or was worth 1000 marks, or was the son of a duke, marquis, earl, viscount, or baron of the realm, should keep in his house any vessel of wine, for his family use, exceeding ten gallons, under penalty of ten pounds.

Our great wine trade was at first with Bourdeaux, and the neighbouring provinces; it commenced as early as the Conquest, perhaps sooner*. But it became very considerable in the reign of Henry II. by reason of his marriage with Elianor, daughter of the duke of Aquitaine; our conquest of that, and other great wine-provinces of France, increased the trade to a high degree, and made great fortunes among the adventurers of this company. In after-times, when sweet wines came into fashion, we had considerable intercourse with the Canary islands.

I must not be silent about the celebrated sir Richard Whittington, three times lord mayor

* Cambden, i. 672.



SIR RICH^d. WHITTINGTON.

Coat sc.





Engraved by J. G. Thompson.

Plat. 45.

Washington, Wm. Hart, Clerk, Treasurer, &c.

Engraved by J. G. Thompson, New York, 1845.

of London, 1397, 1406, and 1419. I shall leave the history of his cat to the friend of my younger days, Punch, and his dramatical troop. But will not omit saying, that his good fortune was not without parallel, for it is recorded, “ how Alphonso, a Portuguese, being wrecked
 “ on the coast of Guinney, and being presented
 “ by the king thereof with his weight in gold
 “ for a cat, to kill their mice, and an oynt-
 “ ment to kill their flies, which he improved,
 “ within five years, to 6000*l.* on the place,
 “ and returning to Portugal, after 15 years
 “ traffick, becoming the third man in the king-
 “ dom*.”

Our munificent citizen founded, near this place, Whittington college, in the church of St. Michael Royal, re-built by him, and finished by his executors in 1424. The college was dedicated to the Holy Ghost, and the Virgin Mary, and had in it an establishment of a master and four fellows, clerks, choristers, &c.; and near it an alms-house for thirteen poor people. The college was suppressed at the Reformation, but the alms-houses still exist†.

This great man was thrice buried: once by

* A Description of Guinea, 4to. 1665, p. 87.

† Tanner's Monasticon.

his executors, under a magnificent monument, in the church which he had built; but by the sacrilege of Thomas Mountein, rector, in the reign of Edward VI. who expected great riches in his tomb, it was broke open, and the body spoiled of its leaden sheet, and then committed again to its place*. In the next reign the body was again taken up, to renew a decent covering, and deposited the third time. His epitaph began thus:

Ut fragrans nardus, fama fuit iste Ricardus,
 Albificans villam qui justè rexerat illam,
 Flos mercatorum, fundator Presbyterorum, &c †.

The *Tower Royal*, which stood in a street of the same name, a little beyond this church, must not pass unnoticed. It was supposed to have been founded by Henry I.; and, according to Stow, it was the residence of king Stephen. Whether it was destroyed by any accident does not appear: but in the reign of Edward I. it was no more than a simple tenement, held by one Simon Beawmes. In that of Edward III. it acquired the title of Royal, and the Inn

* Stow's *Survaie*, 443.

† See Stow, i. book iii. p. 5.—Albificans, alluding to his name.

Royal, as having been the residence of the king: under that name he bestowed it on the college of St. Stephen, Westminster; but it reverted to the crown, and in the time of Richard II. was called the Queen's Wardrobe*. It must have been a place of great strength; for, when the rebels, under Wat Tyler, had made themselves masters of the Tower, and forced from thence the archbishop of Canterbury, and every other victim to their barbarity, this place remained secure. Hitler the princess Joan, the royal mother, retired during the time the rebels were committing every excess in all parts of the town; and here the youthful monarch found her, after he had, by his wonderful calmness and prudence, put an end to this pestilential insurrection†.

In this tower Richard, in 1386, lodged, when his royal guest Leon III. king of Armenia, or, as Holinshed‡ calls him, Lyon king of Armony (Armenia), who had been expelled his kingdom by the Turks, took refuge in England. Richard treated him with the utmost munificence, loaded him with gifts, and settled on the unfortunate prince a thousand pounds a-year

* Stow's Survaie, 445. † The same. ‡ Holinshed, 448.

for life. After two months stay, he returned into France, where he also met with a reception suitable to his rank*; and dying at Paris, in 1393, was interred in the Celestins, where his tomb is to be seen to this day†.

John duke of Norfolk, the faithful adherent of the usurper Richard III. had a grant of this tower from his master, and made it his residence‡.

Near the water-side, a little to the west of Vintners'-hall, stood *Worcester Place*, the house of the accomplished John Tiptoft, earl of Worcester, lord high treasurer of England. All his love for the sciences could not soften in him the ferocious temper of the unhappy times he lived in. While he was in Ireland, he cruelly destroyed two infants of the Desmond family. And, in 1470, sitting in judgment on twenty gentlemen and yeomen, taken at sea near Southampton, he caused them to be hanged and beheaded, then hung by their legs, and their heads stuck on a stake driven into their foundations. He had deserted the cause of Henry, and was beheaded by order of the great earl of

* Froissart, ii. c. 41. † Montfaucon, Mon. Franç. iii. 92.

‡ Mr. Brooke.

Warwick, who had just before thought proper to quit that of Edward.

The next place of antiquity, on the banks of the Thames, is *Queen-hithe*, or harbour: its original name was *Edred's-hithe*, and possibly existed in the time of the Saxons. This was one of the places for large boats, and even ships, to discharge their lading; for there was a draw-bridge in one part of London-bridge, which was pulled up occasionally, to admit the passage of large vessels; express care being taken to land corn, fish, and provisions, in different places, for the conveniency of the inhabitants; and other hithes were appointed for the landing of different merchandise, in order that business might be carried on with regularity. When this hithe fell into the hands of king Stephen, he bestowed it on William de Ypres, who, in his piety, again gave it to the convent of the Holy Trinity, within Aldgate. It again fell to the crown, in the time of Henry III. and then acquired its present name, being called *Ripa Reginae*, the Queen's Wharf. That monarch compelled the ships of the cinque ports to bring their corn here, and to no other place. It probably was part of her majesty's pin-money, by the attention paid to her interest.

in the affair. When I visited this dock, I saw a melancholy proof of the injury trade may sustain by the ruinous state of Blackfriars-bridge, the result of the bad materials of which part of it has been unhappily composed. A large stone had fallen out of its place. A vast barge deeply laden, I think, with corn and malt, struck on this sunk rock, and foundered. It was weighed up, and brought into this place to discharge its damaged cargo.

A little to the north-west of Queen-hithe, on Old Fish-street-hill, stood the inn or town residence of the lords of Mont-hault, or Mold, in Flintshire. The present church, named from them *St. Mary Mounthaw*, had been their chapel. In 1234, the bishop of Hereford purchased it, and it became his inn, and so continued till 1553, when it was granted to Edward Clinton, earl of Lincoln. In this parish was also the house of Robert Belknab, one of the judges who was banished by the turbulent lords in the time of Richard II. when it became forfeited, and was granted to William of Wickham, bishop of Winchester.

I cannot ascertain the place, but in Thames-street, somewhere to the north-east of St. Paul's wharf, stood *Beaumont-inn*, or house, the resi-

dence of the noble family of that name. Edward IV. in 1465, presented it to his favorite, the lord Hastings. On the advancement of his grandson to the earldom of Huntingdon, it was named after the title of the noble possessors. In this neighbourhood, near Trig-stairs, the abbot of Chertsey had his inn, or city mansion: it was afterwards called Sandy-house, because it became the residence of the lord Sandys.

Near Broken Wharf (between Trig-stairs and Queen-hithe) was an ancient and large building of stone, with arched gates, the residence of Hugh de Bigot, earl of Norfolk, in the time of Henry III. In 1316, it was possessed by Thomas Brotherton, duke of Norfolk, and earl-marshal; and in 1432, by John Moubray, also duke of Norfolk. But in the reign of queen Elizabeth it was much more honoured, by being the mansion of that opulent and charitable citizen Thomas Sutton, founder of the Charter-house hospital, and author of numberless other good deeds.

Opposite to Queen-hithe, on the south side of Thames-street, is Little Trinity Lane, where the company of *painter-stainers* have their hall. These artists formed themselves into a fraternity as early as the reign of Edward III. and also

erected themselves into a company; but were not incorporated. They styled themselves painter-stainers; the chief work being the staining or painting of glass, illuminating missals, or painting of portatif or other altars, and now and then a portrait; witness that of Richard II. and the portraits of the great John Talbot and his wife, preserved at Castle Ashby*. In the year 1575, they found that plaisterers, and all sorts of unskilful persons, intermeddled in their business, and brought their art into disrepute by the badness and slightness of their work. They determined (as the surgeons in later days) to keep their mystery pure from all pretenders. They were incorporated in 1576, had their master, warden, and common seal: George Gower was queen Elizabeth's serjeant-painter†; but, as I do not find his name in Mr. Walpole's anecdotes, I suspect his art was confined to the humbler part. This corporation extended only to such artists who practised within the city. As art is unconfined, numbers arose in different parts, and settled in Westminster, the seat of the court. They for a long time remained totally uncon-

* Journey to London. † Strype's Stow, ii. book v. p. 214.

nected even with each other. About the year 1576, they solicited and received the royal patronage, and were incorporated under the title of master, wardens, and commonalty of painter-stainers. The majority are independent of any other body corporate; but several among them are regular freemen of the city under the ancient company. Numbers of paintings are preserved here: many of them probably by the members of the society. The portraits of Charles II. and his queen, by Houseman; architecture of the Corinthian order, by Trevit; the fire of London, by Waggoner*; a landscape, by Aggas; Heraclitus and Democritus, by Penn; fish and fowl, by Robinson; birds, by Barlow; fruit and flowers, by Everbrook; a ruin, by Griffier; and Monamy contributed a fine piece of shipping. On the ceiling is an allegorical painting, the work of Fuller. The silver cup and cover, given to this society by the great Cambden, who was son of a painter in the Old Bailey, is preserved here, and annually produced on St. Luke's day, the old master drinking out of it to the new one, then elected.

* This is engraven for the second edition of this work.

The next remarkable place is *Baynard Castle*, one of the two castles built on the west end of the town, "with walls and ramparts," mentioned by Fitzstephen. It took its name from its founder, a nobleman and follower of the Conqueror, and who died in the reign of William Rufus. It was forfeited to the crown in 1111, by one of his descendants. Henry I. bestowed it on Robert Fitz-Richard, fifth son of Richard de Tonebrugge, son of Gilbert earl of Clare*. To this family did appertain, in right of the castle, the office of castilian, and banner-bearer of the city of London. There is a curious declaration of their rights, in the person of Robert Fitzwalter, one of his descendants, expressing his duty in time of war, made in all the fullness of chivalry, in 1303, before John Blondon, then lord mayor. It is there recited, that, "The sayd Robert, and his heyeres, ought to be, and are chiefe bannerers of London, in fee for the chastilarie, which he and his ancestors had by Castell Baynard, in the said city. In time of warre, the sayd Robert, and his heyers, ought to serve the citie in manner as followeth: that is,

* Dugdale's Baron. i. 218.

“ The sayd Robert ought to come, he beeing
 “ the twentieth man of armes, on horsebacke,
 “ covered with cloth, or armour, unto the
 “ great west doore of Saint Paul, with his
 “ banner displayed before him of his armes.
 “ And when hee is come to the sayd doore,
 “ mounted and apparelled as before is said, the
 “ maior, with his aldermen and sheriffes, armed
 “ in their armes, shall come out of the sayd
 “ church of Saint Paul unto the sayd doore,
 “ with a banner in his hand, all on foote:
 “ which banner shall be gules, the image of
 “ Saint Paul, gold; the face, hands, feete, and
 “ sword of silver: and assoone as the sayd
 “ Robert shall see the maior, aldermen, and
 “ sheriffes come on foot out of the church,
 “ armed with such a banner, he shall alight
 “ from his horse, and salute the maior, and
 “ say to him, sir maior, I am come to do my
 “ service, which I owe to the citie. And the
 “ maior and aldermen shall answere, We give
 “ to you, as to our bannerer of fee in this citie,
 “ this banner of this citie to beare and governe,
 “ to the honour and profite of the citie, to our
 “ power. And the sayd Robert, and his heyers,
 “ shall receive the banner in his hands, and
 “ shall go on foote out of the gate, with the

“ banner in his hands ; and the maior, alder-
 “ men, and sheriffes shall follow to the doore,
 “ and shall bring a horse to the said Robert,
 “ worth twenty pound, which horse shall be
 “ saddled with a saddle of the armes of the
 “ said Robert, and shall be covered with sin-
 “ dals of the sayd armes. Also, they shall
 “ present to him twenty pounds starling money,
 “ and deliver it to the chamberlaine of the
 “ sayd Robert, for his expences that day.
 “ Then the said Robert shall mount upon the
 “ horse, which the maior presented to him,
 “ with the banner in his hand, and as soon as
 “ he is up, he shall say to the maior, that he
 “ cause a marshall to be chosen for the host,
 “ one of the citie ; which marshall being chosen,
 “ the said Robert shall command the maior and
 “ burgesses of the citie to warne the common-
 “ ers to assemble together ; and they shall all
 “ goe under the banner of Saint Paul : and the
 “ said Robert shall beare it himself unto Ald-
 “ gate ; and there the said Robert and maior
 “ shall deliver the said banner of Saint Paul
 “ from thence, to whom they shall assent or
 “ think good. And if they must make any
 “ issue forth of the citie, then the sayd Robert
 “ ought to choose two forth of every ward, the

“ most sage personages, to foresee to the safe
 “ keeping of the citie after they bee gone forth.
 “ And this counsell shall be taken in the
 “ priorie of the Trinitie, neere unto Aldgate ;
 “ and againe before every towne or castell,
 “ which the host of London shall besiege ; if
 “ the siege continue a whole yeere, the sayd
 “ Robert shall have for every siege, of the
 “ communalty of London, a 100 shillings for
 “ his travaile and no more.

“ These be the rights that the said Robert
 “ hath in the time of warre. Rights belong-
 “ ing to Robert Fitzwalter, and to his heires
 “ in the citie of Lond. in the time of peace,
 “ are these ; that is to say, The sayd Robert
 “ hath a soken or ward in the citie, that is, a
 “ wall of the canonrie of Saint Paul, as a man
 “ goeth downe the street, before the brewhouse
 “ of Saint Paul, unto the Thames, and so to
 “ the side of the mill, which is in the water
 “ that cometh down from the Fleet-bridge,
 “ and goeth so by London wals, betwixt the
 “ Friers preachers and Ludgate, and so re-
 “ turneth backe by the house of the sayd
 “ Friers, unto the sayd wall of the sayd ca-
 “ nonrie of Saint Paul, that is, all the parish of
 “ Saint Andrew, which is in the gift of his an-

“cestors, by the sayd signiority: and so the
“said Robert hath, appendant unto the sayd
“soken, all these things underwritten: That
“hee ought to have a sokemanrie, or the same
“ward: and if any of the sokemanry be im-
“pleaded in the Guild-hall, of any thing that
“toucheth not the body of the maior that for
“the time is, or that toucheth the body of no
“sheriffe, it is not lawful for the sokeman of
“the sokemanry of the sayd Robert; and the
“maior, and his citizens of London, ought to
“grant him to have a court, and in his court
“he ought to bring his judgements, as it is as-
“sented and agreed upon in the Guild-hall,
“that shall be given them.

“If any therefore be taken in his sokemanrie,
“he ought to have his stockes and imprison-
“ment in his soken, and he shall be brought
“from thence to Guild-hall, before the maior,
“and there they shall provide him his judge-
“ment that ought to be given of him; but his
“judgement shall not be published till he come
“into the court of the sayd Robert, and in his
“libertie. And the judgement shall be such,
“that if he have deserved death by treason, he
“to be tied to a post in the Thames at a good
“wharf, where boats are fastened, two ebbings

“ and two flowings of the water. And if he
 “ be condemned for a common thief, he ought
 “ to be led to the Elmes, and there suffer his
 “ judgement as other theeves. And so the said
 “ Robert and his heirs hath honour, that he
 “ holdeth a great franchises within the citie, that
 “ the maior of the city, and citizens, are bound
 “ to doe him of right; that is to say, that when
 “ the maior will hold a great counsaile, he
 “ ought to call the said Robert and his heyres,
 “ to be with him in counsaile of the citie; and
 “ the said Robert ought to be sworne, to be of
 “ counsaile with the city against all people,
 “ saving the king and his heirs. And when
 “ the said Robert commeth to the hustings,
 “ in the Guild-hall of the citie, the maior or
 “ his lieutenant ought to rise against him, and
 “ set him downe neer unto him; and so long
 “ as he is in the Guild-hall, al the judgements
 “ ought to be given by his mouth, according
 “ to the record of the recorders of the said
 “ Guild-hall. And so many waifes as come,
 “ so long as he is there he ought to give them
 “ to the bayliffes of the towne, or to whom he
 “ wil, by the counsaile of the maior of the
 “ citie.”

In 1428, the old castle was burnt: it proba-

bly at that time had changed masters, for it was re-built by Humphrey duke of Gloucester. On his death it was granted by Henry VI. to Richard duke of York. In the important convention of the great men of the kingdom, in 1458, the prelude to the bloody civil broils, Richard lodged here with his train of four hundred men; and all his noble partizans had their warlike suite. Let me say, that the king-making earl came attended with six hundred men, all in red jackets embroidered, with ragged staves, before and behind, and were lodged in Warwick-lane; in whose house there was often the scene of boundless hospitality, the instrument of his furious spirit and boundless ambition.

This mighty peer, in all his castles, was supposed to feed annually thirty thousand men. But Baynard Castle was the scene of a still more important action in 1460; the youthful Edward assumed the name and dignity of king, confirmed by a number of persons of rank assembled in this place, after it had been conferred on him by a mixed and tumultuary multitude.

The usurper Richard in the very same castle took on him the title of king. Here he was

waited on by his creature Buckingham, the mayor, and such part of the citizens who had been prepared for the purpose of forcing the crown on the seemingly reluctant hypocrite. Shakespeare has made an admirable scene out of this part of our history*. His successor repaired, or perhaps re-built Baynard Castle, and, as if foreseeing a long series of peaceful years, changed its form into that of a palace for quiet times. According to the view I have seen, it included a square court, with an octagonal tower in the center, and two in the front; between which were several square projections from top to bottom, with the windows in pairs one above the other; beneath was a bridge and stairs to the river†.

Henry often resided here, and from hence made several of his solemn processions. Here, in 1505, he lodged Philip of Austria, the matrimonial king of Castile, tempest-driven into his dominions, and showed him the pomp and glory of his capital‡.

This castle was the residence of sir William Sydney, who died chamberlain and steward to Edward VI. And in this place Mary, the

* Richard III. act iii. sc. vii.

† Holinshed, 793.

‡ The same.

gloomy queen of Philip II. of Spain, had her right to the throne resolved on; and from hence her partizans sallied forth to proclaim her lawful title. At this time it was the property and residence of William Herbert, earl of Pembroke, a particular favourer of the rightful heir. Her successor, Elizabeth, did him the honour of taking a supper with his lordship: after supper, her majesty went on the water to show herself to her subjects; her barge was instantly surrounded by hundreds of boats; loud acclamations delivered from the heart, music, and fireworks, testified the happiness they felt at the sight of this mother of her people. Early hours were then the fashion, for, notwithstanding this scene was exhibited on the 25th of April, she retired to her palace at 10 o'clock*. The family of the earls of Shrewsbury resided in it till it was burnt in the great fire.

To the west of this stood the other of Fitzstephen's castles, the tower of Montfichet, founded by Gilbert de Montfichet, a native of Rome, but related to the Conqueror: he brought with him a strong force, and fought gallantly

* Strype's Annals.

in his cause, in the field of Hastings*. By him was founded this tower: its date was short, for it was demolished by king John in 1213, after banishing Richard, successor to Gilbert, the actual owner†. The materials were applied, in 1276 (as before related) to the building of the monastery of the Black Friars.

A little farther is *Puddle Dock*, and Puddle Dock Hill, remarkable only for having in the latter the western termination of the long street called *Thames-street*, which extends eastward as far as the Tower, a mile in length. In early times, the southern side was guarded by a wall, close to the river, strengthened with towers. These are mentioned by Fitzstephen as having been ruined and undermined by the river. Lord Lyttelton justly observes, that after the building of the Tower and the bridge, there was no necessity of restoring these fortifications; as it was impossible (at least after the bridge was flung across the Thames) for any fleet to annoy the city. It originally stood farther from the river than the present buildings and wharfs, a considerable space between the street and the water having been gained in a long series of ages.

* Dugdale's Baron. i. 438.

† Stow's Survaie, 114.

Not far from Puddle Dock, in old times, stood an ancient house of stone and timber, built by the lords of Berkeley, a potent race of barons. In the reign of Henry VI. it was the residence of the great Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick*, who seems to have made himself master of this by violence, among other estates of the Berkelines, to which he made pretensions on the death of Thomas fourth lord Berkeley†.

From hence I turn north till I gain the site of Ludgate. On the left all is piety; *Credo-lane, Ave Maria! lane, Amen Corner, and Pater-Noster-row*, indicate the sanctity of the motley inhabitants. Before us rises the magnificent structure of St. Paul's, and its confined church-yard. Before I mention that noble temple, I pursue the left hand way to Warwick-lane;

Where stands a dome majestic to the sight,
And sumptuous arches bear its oval height;
A golden globe, plac'd high with artful skill,
Seems to the distant sight a gilded pill.

In prose, the *College of Physicians*; a society

* Stow's Survaie, 641.

† Dugdale's Baron. i. 362.

founded originally by doctor Linacre, the first who rescued the medical art from the hands of illiterate monks and empirics. He studied in Italy: and became physician to Henry VII. and VIII. Edward VI. and the princess Mary. He died in 1524*. The college was first in Knight-Rider-street; afterwards it was removed to Amen Corner; and finally fixed here. The present building was the work of sir Christopher Wren. On the top of the dome is a gilt ball, which the witty Garth calls the gilded pill. On the summit of the center is the bird of Æsculapius, the admonishing cock.

On one side of the court is a statue of Charles II.: on the opposite that of the notorious sir John Cutler. I was greatly at a loss to learn how so much respect was shown to a character so stigmatized for avarice. I think myself much indebted to doctor Warren for the extraordinary history. It appears, by the annals of the college, that in the year 1674, a considerable sum of money had been subscribed by the fellows, for the erection of a new college,

* See my friend doctor Aikin's Biographical Memoirs of Medicine, octavo, 1770, which a misjudging period discouraged him from completing.

the old one having been consumed in the great fire, eight years before. It also appears, that sir John Cutler, a near relation of doctor Whistler, the president, was desirous of becoming a benefactor. A committee was appointed to wait upon sir John, to thank him for his kind intentions. He accepted their thanks, renewed his promise, and specified the part of the building of which he intended to bear the expence. In the year 1680, statues in honour of the king, and sir John, were voted by the college: and nine years afterwards, the college being then completed, it was resolved to borrow money of sir John Cutler, to discharge the college debt, but the sum is not specified. It appears, however, that in 1669, sir John's executors made a demand on the college of 7000*l.*; which sum was supposed to include the money actually lent, the money pretended to be given, but set down as a debt in sir John's books, and the interest on both. Lord Radnor, however, and Mr. Boulter, sir John Cutler's executors, were prevailed on to accept 2000*l.* from the college, and actually remitted the other five. So that sir John's promise, which he never performed, obtained him the statue, and the liberality of his execu-

tors has kept it in its place ever since. But the college wisely have obliterated the inscription, which, in the warmth of its gratitude, it had placed beneath the figure.

OMNIS CUTLERI CEDAT LABOR AMPHITHEATRO.

In the great room are several portraits of gentlemen of the faculty. Among them sir Theodore Mayerne, a native of Geneva, physician to James and Charles I. The great Sydenham, to whom thousands owe their lives, by his daring attempt (too long neglected) of the cool regimen in the small-pox. Harvey, who first discovered the circulation of the blood. And the learned and pious sir Thomas Brown, who said that the discovery of that great man's was preferable to the discovery of the New World.

Sir Edmund King, a favourite of Charles II. When that monarch was first struck with the apoplexy, he had the courage to relieve his majesty by instant bleeding; putting the rigour of the law to defiance in case of failure of success. A thousand pounds was ordered as a reward, but never paid*. He was among the

* Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, i. 606.

philosophers of his time, who made the famous experiment of transfusing the blood of one animal into another. The blood of a healthy young spaniel was conveyed into the veins of an old mangy dog, who was perfectly cured in less than a fortnight*. The blood of a young dog was transfused into one almost blind with age, and which, before, could hardly move: the latter did in two hours leap and frisk; and yet the young dog, which received in return the blood of the old or distempered, felt no sort of injury†. Would that the same experiment could be extended to the human species! and, should the change be effected on mind as well as body, how unspeakable would be the benefit to the whole race! Not only every loathsome disorder would be done away, but every folly, meanness, and vice, changed to their opposite virtues, by a due transfusion of worthy plebeian blood: and, what would make the experiment more beautiful, not the least inconvenience in body or mind would result to the generous lender of the uncontaminated fluid.

A very good portrait of the anatomist Vesalius, on board, by John Calkar, a painter from

* Phil. Trans. abr. iii. 224. † The same.

the dutchy of Cleves, who died in 1546. This celebrated character had filled the professor's chair at Venice; after that, was for some time physician to Charles V. Disgusted with the manners of a court, he determined on a voyage to the Holy Land. The republic of Venice sent to him to fill the professorship of medicine at Padua, vacant by the death of Fallopius. On his return, in 1564, he was shipwrecked on the isle of Zanta, where he perished by hunger.

Doctor Goodal, the Stentor of Garth's dispensary; and doctor Millington, whom the witty author compliments with the following lines, and, from what I understand, with great justice:

Machaon, whose experience we adore,
Great as your matchless merit is your power:
At your approach the baffl'd tyrant Death
Breaks his keen shafts, and grinds his clashing teeth.

The portrait of doctor Freind, the historian of physic, and the most able in his profession, and the most elegant writer of his time, must not be omitted. The fine busts of Harvey, Sydenham, and Mead, the physician of our own days, merit attention: and with them I close the distinguished list.

The library was furnished with books by sir Theodore Mayerne; and it received a considerable addition from the marquis of Dorchester. I reflect with pleasure on my frequent visits to Mr. George Edwards, the worthy librarian, and very able ornithologist. His works are so well known, and so justly esteemed, as to render any panegyric of mine superfluous. Notwithstanding we were *both of a trade*, we lived in the most perfect harmony. I esteem his present to me, not long before his death, of several of his original drawings in Indian ink, a most valuable part of my collection, as well as a proof of the friendship of a truly honest man*.

Warwick-lane took its name from its having in it the inn or house of the Beauchamps earls of Warwick. Cecily countess of Warwick lived in it the 28th of Henry VI. It afterwards fell to Richard Neville, the famous king-making earl, whose popularity and manner of living merits recital: “ Stow mentions his coming to
“ London, in the famous convention of 1458,
“ with 600 men, all in red jackets imbrodered,
“ with ragged staves, before and behind, and

* He died July 23d, 1773, aged 80.

“ was lodged in Warwicke-lane: in whose
 “ house there was often six oxen eaten at a
 “ breakfast, and every taverne was full of his
 “ meate, for hee that had any acquaintance in
 “ that house, might have there so much of
 “ sodden and rost meate as he could pricke
 “ and carry upon a long dagger*.”

On the front of a house in the upper end of the lane is placed a small neat statue of Guy earl of Warwick, renowned in the days of king Athelstan for killing the Danish giant Colbrand, and performing numbers of other exploits, the delight of my childish days. This statue is in miniature the same with that in the chapel of St. Mary Magdalen, in Guy's-cliff, near Warwick. The arms on the shield are *chequè* or and *azure*, a *cheveron ermine*, which were his arms, afterwards gold, by the Beauchamps earls of Warwick†.

Not far from hence, near Ave-Maria-lane, stood a great house of stone and wood, belonging, in old times, to John duke of Bretagne, and earl of Richmond, cotemporary with Ed-

* Stow's Survaie, 130.

† John C. Brooke, esq. Somerset. See also Dugdale's Warwickshire, i. 274.

ward II. and III.; after him it was possessed by the earls of Pembroke, in the time of Richard II. and Henry VI., and was called *Pembroke's-inn*, near Ludgate. It next came to William Beauchamp lord Abergavenny, and was called *Burgavenny-house*. In the 19th of Henry VI. it fell, in right of his wife, to Edmund Neville, lord Abergavenny; and in the time of queen Elizabeth we find it possessed by Henry lord Abergavenny. To finish the anti-climax, it was finally possessed by the company of stationers, who re-built it of wood, and made it their hall. It was destroyed by the great fire; and was succeeded by the present plain building. The preceding owners might boast of their nobility; their successors of their wealth; for in that sad calamity, lord Clarendon estimated that the loss of the company did not amount to less than two hundred thousand pounds.

The cathedral of *St. Paul* more than fills the space of Ludgate-hill. The best authority we have for the origin of this church, is from its great restorer sir Christopher Wren. His opinion, that there had been a church on this spot, built by the Christians in the time of the Romans, was confirmed: when he searched for

the foundations for his own design, he met with those of the original presbyterium, or semicircular chancel of the old church. They consisted only of Kentish rubble-stone, artfully worked, and consolidated with exceeding hard mortar, in the Roman manner, much excelling the superstructure*. He explodes the notion of there having been here a temple of Diana, and the discovery of the horns of animals used in the sacrifices to that goddess, on which the opinion had been founded, no such having been discovered in all his searches†. What was found, is mentioned in the 15th page of this book.

The first church is supposed to have been destroyed in the Dioclesian persecution, and to have been re-built in the reign of Constantine. This was again demolished by the pagan Saxons; and restored, in 603, by Sebert, a petty prince, ruling in these parts under Ethelbert king of Kent, the first Christian monarch of the Saxon race; who, at the instance of St. Augustine, appointed Melitus the first bishop of London. Erkenwald, the son of king Offa, fourth in succession from Melitus, ornamented his cathedral

* Parentalia, 266.

† The same, 272.

very highly, and improved the revenues with his own patrimony. He was most deservedly canonized; for the very litter in which he was carried in his last illness, continued many centuries to cure fevers by the touch; and the very chips, carried to the sick, restored them to health.

When the city of London was destroyed by fire, in 1086, this church was burnt; the bishop Mauritius began to re-build it, and laid the foundations, which remained till its second destruction, from the same cause, in the last century. Notwithstanding Mauritius lived twenty years after he had begun this pious work, and bishop Beaumes, or Belmeis, enjoyed the see twenty more, yet, such was the grandeur of the design, that it remained unfinished. The first had the ruins of the Palatine Tower bestowed on him, as materials for the building: and Henry I. bestowed on Beaumes, or Belmeis, part of the ditch belonging to the Tower, which, with purchases made by himself, enabled him to inclose the whole with a wall. The same monarch granted besides, that every ship which brought stone for the church, should be exempted from toll; he gave him also all the great fish taken in his precincts, except the

tongues; and lastly, he secured to him and his successor, the delicious tythes of all his venison in the county of Essex.

The steeple was finished in 1221. The noble subterraneous church of *St. Faith, Ecclesia Sanctæ Fidis in cryptis*, was begun in 1257. It was supported by three rows of massy clustered pillars, with ribs diverging from them to support the solemn roof. This was the parish church. This undercroft, as these sort of buildings were called, had in it several chauntries and monuments. Henry Lacie, earl of Lincoln, who died in 1312, made what was called the New Work, at the east end, in which was the chapel of our Lady, and that of St. Dunstan. In the last was the tomb of that great earl.

The *Chapter-house* was adjoining to the south transept, was circular, and supported by four central pillars, and of more elegant Gothic than the rest of the building. This projected into a most beautiful cloister, two stories high. On the walls of a cloister on the north side of St. Paul's, called *Pardon-church-haugh*, was painted the Machabre, or dance of death, a common subject on the walls of cloisters or religious places. This was a single piece, a

long train of all orders of men, from the pope to the lowest of human beings; each figure has as his partner, Death; the first shaking his remembering hour-glass*. Our old poet Lydgate, who flourished in the year 1430, translated a poem on the subject, from the French verses which attended a painting of the same kind about St. Innocent's cloister, at Paris. The original verses were made by Machaber, a German, in his own language. This shows the antiquity of the subject, and the origin of the hint from which Holbein composed his famous painting at Basil.

This cloister, the dance, and innumerable fine monuments (for here were crowded by far the most superb) fell victims to the sacrilege of the protector Somerset, who demolished the whole, and carried the materials to his palace then erecting in the Strand.

Farther to the west, adjoining to this south side, was the parish church of St. Gregory. Over it was one of the towers which ornamented the western front. It was called the Lollards' Tower, and was the bishop's prison

* Dugdale's Monast. i. 367; in which both print and verses are preserved.—See Dugdale's St. Paul, 134, and Stow's Survaie, 616.

for the heterodox, in which was committed many a midnight murder. That of Richard Hunn, in 1514, was one most foul; he was committed there; he was hanged there by the contrivance of the chancellor of the diocese, Horsey; he was scandalized with suicide; his corpse was ignominiously buried. The murder came out; the coroner's inquest sat on the ashes, and they brought in a verdict of wilful murder against Horsey and his accomplices. The bishop, Fitzjames, defended them. The king interfered, and ordered the murderers to make restitution to the children of the deceased, to the amount of fifteen hundred pounds. Yet the perpetrators of this villany escaped with a pardon, notwithstanding the king, in his order, speaks to them as having committed what himself styles the cruel murder*.

The last person confined here was Peter Burchet of the Temple, who, in 1573, desperately wounded our famous seaman sir Richard Hawkins, in the open street, whom he had mistaken for sir Christopher Hatton. He was committed to this prison, and afterwards removed to the Tower; he there barbarously

* Fox's Martyrs, ii. 8 to 14.

murdered* one his keepers ; he was tried, convicted, had his right hand struck off, and then hanged. He was found to be a violent enthusiast, who thought it lawful to kill such who opposed the truth of the gospel.

The style of the ancient cathedral was a most beautiful Gothic ; over the east end was a most elegant circular window ; alterations were made in the ends of the two transepts, so that their form is not delivered down to us in the ancient plans ; from the central tower rose a lefty and most graceful spire.

The dimensions of this noble temple, as taken in 1309, were these : the length six hundred and ninety feet ; the breadth a hundred and twenty ; the height of the roof of the west part, from the floor, one hundred and two ; of the east part, a hundred and eighty-eight ; of the tower, two hundred and sixty ; of the spire, which was made of wood covered with lead, two hundred and seventy-four. The whole space the church occupied was three acres and a half, one rood and a half, and six perches†.

We may be astonished at this amazing building, and naturally enquire what fund could

* Stow, 690. Kennet, ii. 449. † Dugdale, 17.

supply money to support so vast an expence. But monarchs resigned their revenues resulting from the customs due for the materials, which were brought to the adjacent wharfs; they furnished wood from the royal forests: prelates gave up much of their revenues; and, what was more than all, by the pious bait of indulgences, and remissions of penance, brought in, from the good people of this realm, most amazing sums. Pope Innocent III. in 1252, gave a release of sixty days penance: the archbishop of Cologne gave, a few years before, a relaxation of fifty days: Boniface, archbishop of Canterbury, forty days. In brief, there was not a prelate who did not, in this manner, excite his flock to contribute liberally to this great and pious design.

The nave was supported by clustered pillars and round arches, the style preserved by the Normans, after the conquered Saxons. The galleries and windows of the transepts were also finished with rounded arches. The skreen to the choir, and the chapel of our Lady, were Gothic. The skreen remarkably elegant, ornamented with statues on each side of the door, at the expence of sir Paul Pindar*. We are

* See Dugdale's St. Paul, p. 143; plates marked 145-6-7-8.

obliged to the industry of Hollar, for perserving this knowledge of this ancient state. His great employer sir William Dugdale, and that eminent artist, were fortunately coeval. The pen of the one, and the burine of the other, were in full vigour, before the ravages of the great fire, on multitudes of the choice antiquities of our capital. To the same distinguished characters we owe our acquaintance with the tombs: but we are not to expect in this church the number, nor the elegance, of those of Westminster. St. Peter, the porter of heaven, had far the preference to the tutelar saint of this cathedral. Few crowned heads crowded here: except those of Saxon race, none were found within these walls.

But if they were deprived of that boast, they had the honor of receiving the remains of

Old John of Gaunt, time-honored Lancaster!

the brother, father, and uncle of kings. He died in 1399; and had a most magnificent tomb erected over him, ruined by the fanatical soldiery of the last century. He, and his first wife Blanch, lay recumbent beneath a rich canopy of tabernacle work; his crest upon his

abacof, or cap of state; his shield, and his mighty spear, were hung on his monument as so many trophies.

In point of time, as well as sanctity, the rich Gothic shrine of St. Erkenwald should have preceded; which rested on his plain altar tomb. No wonder if, on account of the miracles before mentioned, this shrine was a great resort of pious devotees. It was enriched with gold, silver, and pretious stones, by the dean and chapter, who, in 1339, employed three goldsmiths to work on it a whole year; the wages of the most expert was only eight shillings a week, the other two five shillings. Of the gifts from devotees, that of Richard de Preston, of London, grocer, was most valuable, being his best sapphire stones, there to remain for curing of infirmities in the eyes*.

The shrine of Roger Niger, bishop of London in the thirteenth century, was also in high repute. A visit to his shrine was frequently enjoined to the indulgences given for the rebuilding of this church.

Henry Lacie, the great earl of Lincoln, an eminent warrior under Edward I. particularly

* Dugdale, 23.—See Boethius de Lapid. et Gem. 184; who treats of the virtues of the Sapphyr.

in the Welsh wars, was buried in that part of the church of his own building, called the New Work. He died at his house in town, called Lincoln's-inn. He is armed in mail; his body covered with a short gown; his legs crossed, for he had either the merit of visiting the Holy Land, or (which would entitle him to a right to that attitude) made a vow to perform that expiatory privilege.

Sir John Beauchamp, a younger son of Guy earl of Warwick, in 1360 was interred here. His figure lay armed, and recumbent. He was one of the founders of the order of the garter; and distinguished himself, in the martial reign of Edward III. by numbers of gallant actions by sea and by land.

That accomplished knight, the ill-fated sir Simon de Burley, lay here in complete armour, under a most elegant Gothic arch. I have mentioned his sad story at p. 25, so will not repeat the subject. Here was deposited, in 1468, (severed from her husband the great John Talbot, who was interred at Whitchurch, in Shropshire) Margaret countess of Shrewsbury. A monument was designed by the friendship of one John Wenlock, at the expence of a hundred pounds; but, from

some unknown cause, the inscription only was executed.

William earl of Pembroke, an active character in the reigns of Henry VIII. Mary, Edward VI. and Elizabeth, with his first countess Anne*, sister to Catherine Parre, queen to Henry VIII. who dying at Baynard castle, in 1551, was interred here with vast solemnity. The portraits of Anne and her lord, in painted glass, are still extant in the chapel at Wilton, and ought to be engraved†. The earl followed her in 1569. They lay beneath a magnificent canopy divided into two arches; at their head, kneeling, is their daughter Anne lady Talbot; at their feet, in the same attitude, their sons Henry earl of Pembroke, and sir Edward Herbert, of Pool, *i. e.* Powis castle, ancestor of the earls of Powis.

At the expence of the Mercers company was erected a monument to the memory of John Colet, the learned dean of St. Paul's, the intimate of Erasmus, and all the eminent scholars of the time. This compliment was payed him by the mercers, because his father had been of their company, and twice lord mayor. He

* Dugdale's Baron. ii. 259.

† Mr. Walpole.

was, in the beginning of life, luxurious, high-spirited, and subject to excess in mirth; and used a freedom of speech which he afterwards corrected. He thought too much of the clergy of his days; and often exposed the corruptions of the church. This subjected him to persecution, but he escaped unhurt. At length he determined to retire from the world; which he quitted for a better in 1519. He dedicated his great fortune to the founding of the school of St. Paul's, in honour of *Christ Jesu in pueritia*, for a hundred and fifty-three scholars. A handsome house is built for this purpose, under the care of the Mercers company. His monument had his bust in *terra cotta*, dressed in a gown and square cap; and beneath it, a skeleton laid on a mat rolled up under its head.

That great and honest man, sir Nicholas Bacon, lay here recumbent, and, notwithstanding he was a gownsman, was singularly clad in complete armour: beneath him are his two wives, in gowns and short ruffs.

Sir Philip Sydney, the delight of the age, the most heroic and virtuous character of his time, had no more than a board with a most wretched inscription of eight verses, to record a fame which nothing can injure. His remains

were brought here on Jan. 16, 1586, with the utmost magnificence. There was a general mourning for him, and it was accounted indecent, for many months, for any gentleman to appear at court, or in the city, in gay apparel*. The partiality of an individual may mistake the qualities of a friend; but the testimony of a whole nation puts his merits beyond dispute.

The memory of the great Walsingham also rests on his own deserts. He died so poor, that his friends were obliged to steal his remains into their grave, for fear least they should be arrested. By accident was left an old book of legends, which I purchased; an ancient manuscript-list of statesmen in the reign of Elizabeth, consigned by the writer to the pains of hell, for their zeal against the Catholics. The 1st, *Leicester, all in fire*, died 1588: 2d, *Walsingham, the secretarie, also in fire and flames*. He died April 6, 1590. No wonder, since he could contrive to get the pope's pocket picked, when his holiness was asleep, of the keys of a cabinet, by which he made himself master of an original letter of the first importance, which proved the saving of our island from the machinations of its enemies.

* Memoirs of the Sydnes, p. 109.

As a Welshman, I must not pass over the quibbling epitaph of the quibbling epigrammatist, my countryman John Owen, born at Llanarmon, in Caernarvonshire, educated at Winchester, and elected fellow of New college*. He lived under the patronage of archbishop Williams, and died in 1623.

Parva tibi statua, quia parva statura, supellex

Parva, volat parvus magna per ora liber.

Sed non parvus honos, non parva est gloria, quippe

Ingenio haud quicquam est majus in orbe tuo.

Parva domus textit, templum sed grande, poetæ

Tum verè vitam, quum moriuntur, agunt.

I will conclude with the melancholy corse of doctor Donne, the wit of his time, standing in a niche, and wrapped in a shroud gathered about his head; with his feet resting on an urn. Not long before his death, he dressed himself in that funebrial habit, placed his feet on an urn fixed on a board exactly of his own height, and, shutting his eyes, like a departed person, was drawn in that attitude by a skilful painter. This gloomy piece he kept in his room till the day of his death, on March 31, 1631; after which it served as a pattern for his tomb.

* Athenæ Oxon. i. 470.

It will be endless to enumerate the altars of this vast temple, numerous as those of the Pantheon. I content myself with the mention of the High Altar, which dazzled with gems of gold, the gifts of its numerous votaries. John, king of France, when prisoner in England, first paying his respects to St. Erkenwald's shrine, offered four basons of gold: and the gifts at the obsequies of princes, foreign and British, were of immense value. On the day of the conversion of the tutelar saint, the charities were prodigious, first to the souls, when an indulgence of forty days pardon was given, *verè pœnitentibus, contritis et confessis*; and, by order of Henry III. fifteen hundred tapers were placed in the church, and fifteen thousand poor people fed in the church-yard.

But the most singular offering was that of a fat doe in winter, and a buck in summer, made at the high altar, on the day of the commemoration of the saint, by sir William de Baude and his family, and then to be distributed among the canons resident. This was in lieu of twenty-two acres of land in Essex, which did belong to the canons of this church. Till queen Elizabeth's days, the doe or buck was received solemnly, at the steps of the high altar, by the dean and

chapter, attired in their sacred vestments, and crowned with garlands of roses. “ They sent
“ the body of the bucke to baking, and had
“ the head fixed on a pole, borne before the
“ crosse in the procession, untill they issued
“ out of the west doore, where the keeper that
“ brought it blowed the deathe of the bucke,
“ and then the horners, that were about the
“ citie, presently answered him in like manner; for which paines they had each man, of
“ the deane and chapter, four pence in money,
“ and their dinner; and the keeper that
“ brought it was allowed, during his abode
“ there, for his service, meate, drinke, and
“ lodging, and five shillings in money at his
“ going away, together with a lofe of breade
“ having the picture of St. Paul upon it*.

The boys of St. Paul’s were famous for acting of the mysteries or holy plays, and even regular dramas. They often had the honor of performing before our monarchs. Their preparations were expensive; so that they petitioned Richard II. to prohibit some ignorant and unexperienced persons from acting the *History of the Old Testament*, to the great pre-

* Warton’s Hist. of Poetry, ii. 390.

judice of the clergy of the church. They had their *barne-bishop*, or *child-bishop*, who assumed the state and attire of a prelate. Ludicrous as this holy counterfeit was, dean Colet expressly orders that his scholars shall, “every
“ *Childermas* daye, come to *Paulis churche*,
“ and heare the *chylde bishop*’s sermon, and
“ after be at the hygh masse, and each of them
“ offer a penny to the *chylde bishop*; and with
“ them, the maisters and surveyors of the scole*.”

This character was very common in many of the churches in France, under the name of *L’évêque des foux*, or *Archevêque des foux*. They were dressed in the pontifical habits, and sung such indecent songs, danced and committed such horrible profanations, even before the altar, that at length they were suppressed by an arret of parliament†, at the request of the dean and chapter at Rheims.

The holiness of this place did not prevent thieves and profligates of all denominations lurking within the precincts, and committing, under favor of the night, murders and every sort of crime. Edward I. gave the dean and

* Stow’s *Survaie*, 641.

† *Memoires de la fête des foux*, pp. 5, 8, 10.

canons permission to inclose the whole within a wall; and to have gates to be shut every night, to exclude all disorderly people. Within these walls, on the north-west side, was the bishop's palace. Froissart tells us, that after the great tournament in Smithfield, king Edward III. and his queen lodged here (I think on occasion of their nuptials); "There was
" goodly daunsyng in the quenes lodging, in
" presence of the kyng and his uncles, and
" other barons of England, and ladies, and
" damoysselles, tyll it was daye, whyche was
" tyme for every person to drawe to theyr
" lodgynges, except the kynge and quene,
" who laye there in the byshoppe's palayce,
" for there theye laye al the feastes and justes
" durynge*."

It was a building of vast extent, and frequently lodged our kings on different occasions. The poor prince Edward V. was brought here, as he supposed to take possession of the crown; and, in 1501, the unhappy Catherine of Arragon was conducted to this palace to meet her young lover, prince Arthur; and on Nov. 14, was publicly married to him at St. Paul's; they

* Froissart, Eng. transl. ii. civ.

returned to the palace, where they were entertained with a splendid nuptial feast, and resided here a few days, till they were visited by the king and queen, who took the royal pair with them by water, from Baynard Castle to Westminster*.

In 1526, Anne de Montmorenci, and others, ambassadors from Francis I. were magnificently lodged and entertained at this palace. They were sent over to ratify the important treaties between the two monarchs, and to compliment Henry with the order of St. Michael†. And in 1546, the French ambassador Claude Annebau, admiral of France, was splendidly lodged in the same place‡. He was a favourite of Francis I. and sent over to make peace between Charles V. his master, and Henry.

In the reign of Edward VI. the queen dowager of Scotland was here entertained. The dean's house, and the houses of the prebendaries and residentiaries, were on the opposite side; and, in those days of plain living, kept great households and liberal hospitality§.

Before this cathedral was the famous *Paul's Cross*, a pulpit formed of wood, mounted upon

* Holinshed, 789.

† See the same, p. 898.

‡ Maitland, ii. 880.

§ The same.

steps of stone, and covered with lead, in which the most eminent divines were appointed to preach every Sunday in the forenoon. To this place, the court, the mayor, and aldermen, and principal citizens, used to resort. The greatest part of the congregation sat in the open air; the king and his train had covered galleries; and the better sort of people, if I may judge from the old prints, were also protected from the injury of the weather; but the far greater part stood exposed in the open air: for which reason the preacher went, in very bad weather, to a place called the *Shrowds*; a covered space on the side of the church, to protect the congregation in inclement seasons. Considerable contributions were raised among the nobility and citizens, to support such preachers as were (as was often the case) called to town from either of the universities. In particular, the lord mayor and aldermen ordered that every preacher who came from a distance, should be freely accommodated, during five days, with sweet and convenient lodgings, fire, candle, and all necessities. And notice was given by the bishop of London, to the preacher appointed by him, of the place he was to repair to.

The origin of the custom of preaching at

crosses, was probably accidental. The sanctity of this species of pillar often caused a great resort of people to pay their devotion to the great object of their erection. A preacher, seeing a large concourse, might be seized by a sudden impulse, ascend the steps, and deliver out his pious advice from a station so fit to inspire attention, and so conveniently formed for the purpose. The example might be followed, till the practice became established by custom.

It certainly at first was a common cross, and coeval with the church. When it was first covered, and converted into a pulpit-cross, we are not informed. We are given to understand that it was overthrown by an earthquake in 1382, and that William Courtney, then archbishop of Canterbury, collected great sums for the re-building; which, says dean Nowel, in a sermon he preached at this cross, he applied to his own use. Courtney was a most munificent prelate, and not likely to abuse the charity of his flock; yet it was not re-built till the time of Thomas Kemp, elected bishop of London in 1449, who finished it in the form, says Godwin, in which we see it at present*;

* Præsul. Angl. 248.—Godwin published his book in 1616.

and so it stood till it was demolished, in 1643, by order of parliament, executed by the willing hands of Isaac Pennington, the fanatical lord mayor of that year, who died in the Tower, a convicted regicide.

We hear of this being in use as early as the year 1259. It was used not only for the instruction of mankind, by the doctrine of the preacher, but for every purpose political or ecclesiastical: for giving force to oaths, for promulging of laws, or rather the royal pleasure, for the emission of papal bulls, for anathematizing sinners, for benedictions, for exposing of penitents under censure of the church, for recantations, for the private ends of the ambitious, and for the defaming of those who had incurred the displeasure of crowned heads.

In 1259, Henry III. commanded the lord mayor to swear before the aldermen, every person of twelve years and upwards, to be true to him and his heirs.

In 1262, the same monarch caused the bull of Urban IV. to be here made public, as an absolution of him and his adherents, who had sworn to observe the Oxford provisions, made in the violent meeting at that city in 1258, called the *mad* parliament.

Here, in 1299, Ralph de Baldoc, dean of St. Paul's, cursed all those who had searched, in the church of St. Martin in the Fields, for a hoard of gold, &c.

Before this cross, in 1483, was brought, divested of all her splendour, Jane Shore, the charitable, the merry concubine of Edward IV. and, after his death, of his favourite, the unfortunate lord Hastings. After the loss of her protectors, she fell a victim to the malice of crook-backed Richard. He was disappointed (by her excellent defence) of convicting her of witchcraft, and confederating with her lover to destroy him. He then attacked her on the weak side of frailty. This was undeniable. He consigned her to the severity of the church: she was carried to the bishop's palace, cloathed in a white sheet, with a taper in her hand, and from thence conducted to the cathedral, and the cross, before which she made a confession of her only fault. Every other virtue bloomed in this ill-fated fair with the fullest vigour. She could not resist the solicitations of a youthful monarch, the handsomest man of his time. On his death she was reduced to necessity, scorned by the world, and cast off by her husband, with whom she was paired in her childish years, and

forced to fling herself into the arms of Hastings.
“ In her penance she went,” says Holinshed,
“ in countenance and pase demure, so woman-
“ lie, that, albeit she were out of all araie,
“ save hir kirtle onlie, yet went she so faire
“ and lovelie, namelie, while the woondering
“ of the people cast a comelie rud in hir cheeks,
“ (of whiche she before had most misse) that
“ hir great shame wan hir much praise among
“ those that were more amorous of hir bodie
“ than curious of hir soule. And manie good
“ folkes that hated hir living, (and glad were
“ to see sin corrected) yet pitied they more
“ hir penance, than rejoised therin, when they
“ considered that the protector procured it
“ more of a corrupt intent, than anie virtuous
“ affection*.”

Rowe has flung this part of her sad story into the following poetical dress; but it is far from depreciating the moving simplicity of the old historian.

Submissive, sad, and lowly was her look;
A burning taper in her hand she bore,
And on her shoulders, carelessly confus'd
With loose neglect, her lovely tresses hung;

* Holinshed, 724.

Upon her cheek a faintish flush was spread;
 Feeble she seem'd, and sorely smit with pain,
 While, barefoot as she trod the flinty pavement,
 Her footsteps all along were mark'd with blood.
 Yet silent still she pass'd, and unrepining;
 Her streaming eyes bent ever on the earth,
 Except when, in some bitter pang of sorrow,
 To Heav'n she seem'd in fervent zeal to raise,
 And beg that mercy man deny'd her here.

The poet has adopted the fable of her being denied all sustenance, and of her perishing with hunger; but that was not fact. She lived to a great age, but in great distress and miserable poverty; deserted even by those to whom she had, during prosperity, done the most essential services. She dragged a wretched life, even to the time of sir Thomas More, who introduces her story into his life of Edward V. The beauty of her person is spoken of in high terms:

“ Proper she was, and faire: nothing in hir
 “ bodie that you would have changed; but
 “ you would have wished hir somewhat higher.
 “ Thus saie they that knew hir in hir youth.—
 “ Now is she old, leane, withered, and dried
 “ up; nothing left but rivelled skin and hard
 “ bone; and yet, being even such, who so well
 “ advise her visage, might gesse and devise,

“ which parts how filled would make it a faire
 “ face*.”

The late ingenious the reverend Mr. Michael Tyson, made me a present of an etching of this unfortunate fair, from the original in the provost's lodgings, in King's college, Cambridge. Her hair is curled in short curls high above her neck, and mixed with chains of jewels set in a lozenge form: her neck and body, as far beneath her arms, are naked; the first has two strings of pearls hanging loose round it: over her shoulders is a rich chain of jewels set in circles, and pendant from the middle, which hangs down her breast, is a rich lozenge of jewels, and to each link is affixed one or more pearls. In her countenance is no appearance of charms; she must have attracted the hearts of her lovers by her intellectual beauties.

For my part, I entertain doubts as to the authenticity of this portrait; but none, of that beautiful engraving given in Mr. Harding's Illustrations of Shakespear by prints, No. IV. The lady there represented is in the dress of the sixteenth century: of the times of Henry VIII. and his successors, to the end of the reign of

Elizabeth. The famous picture of Mary Stuart, by Zuccherò, at Chiswick-house, is exactly in this habit. Many more similar may be found among the English portraits; and among the French, cotemporary to the periods I mention.

Under her cruel prosecutor, this pulpit-cross became the seat of prostituted eloquence. The usurper made use of doctor Shaw, brother to his creature the lord mayor, and friar Pinke, an Augustine, (both, says Stow, doctors of divinity, both great preachers, both of more learning than virtue) as his engines. They addressed the people, and inferred the bastardy of his brother's children, and enlarged on the great qualities of their ambitious employers. But Pinke lost his voice in the middle of his sermon, and was forced to descend: and Shaw was afterwards struck with such remorse, finding himself despised by all the world, that he soon after died of a broken heart*.

Royal contracts of marriage were notified to the people from this place. Thus, that between Margaret, daughter of Henry VII. and James the IVth of Scotland, was here declared in

* See Fabian, 515. Holinshed, 725. Stow's Annals, 451.

1501; *Te Deum* was sung, twelve bonfires set a blazing, and twelve hogsheads of Gascoigne wine given to the populace*.

But the most famous preachments ever made here, were those done by order of Henry VIII. who compelled the bishop of London to send up to *Paul's Cross from Sunday to Sunday*, preachers to preach down the pope's authority; to show to the people that he was no more than the simple bishop of Rome, and that his usurpations were only the effect of the negligence of the princes of this realm†. And thus his holiness's bulls were fairly baited out of the kingdom by his own dogs.

From this pulpit was proclaimed to the people, by Henry Holbetch, bishop of Rochester, the death-bed remorse of the same tyrant; who, finding the stroke inevitable, he ordered the church of the Grey Friars, which he had converted into a store-house, to be cleared of the goods, and opened for divine service, and presented by patent to the city, for the relieving of the poor‡.

Many are the examples of persons bearing

* Stow's Annals, 483.

† Weever's Funeral Monuments, 91, 92.

‡ Stow's Survaie, 591.

the faggot, and of making public recantation of their faith, of both religions, at this place. The reformers bore that badge as a mark of their escape: the Catholics were excused from the burning, therefore were excused from the burden. The last who appeared, was a seminary priest, who, in 1593, made his recantation. In 1537, sir Thomas Newman, priest, bore the faggot here on a singular occasion, for singing mass with good ale. To this place Henry Grey, duke of Suffolk, sent his chaplain, Harding, to dissuade the people from revolting from their allegiance to queen Mary*: yet, actuated by weakness and ambition, concurred in setting up his unhappy daughter, Jane Grey, in opposition to his rightful sovereign.

We are told in Strype's Memorials, III. 21, that queen Mary made use of the same arts in the same place, and appointed several of her best divines to preach the old religion, and her design of restoring the ancient worship: but so averse were the people, that the attempt was attended with great tumults. These she allayed by the temporary expedients of fire and faggot.

The reign of queen Elizabeth was wisely

* Fox's Martyrs.

ushered in by the appointment of good and able men to preach from this Cross the doctrine of the Reformation, and rejection of the Papal power*; in which politics were naturally intermixed. This began April the 9th, 1559, with doctor Bill, the queen's almoner; he was followed by Grindal, Horn, Jewel, Sandys, and many others, who soon after enjoyed the highest dignities in our church.

The same heroine, giving way to a most ungenerous passion, caused from this pulpit the memory of her once-beloved Essex to be blackened; to suffer "the indignity of a sermon at Paul's Cross, set out in command. Some sparks of indignation remaining in the queen, that were unquenched even by his blood†."

It was more worthily employed, when her majesty caused from thence a sermon of thanksgiving to Providence, in 1588, for the signal deliverance her subjects received from the invincible armada of Philip II.

After the battle of St. Quintin, her predecessor, queen Mary, caused doctor Harpsfield to preach a sermon, and from this Cross to give the people information of the victory gained by

* Strype's Annals, i. 133.

† Wotton's Remains, edit. 3d, p. 193.

the general of her husband, Philip of Spain, over the French, and of the succeeding capture of St. Quintin; before which that monarch, the only time in his life, appeared clad in armour.

In 1596, while the lord mayor and aldermen were attending a sermon at this place, they received an order from the queen, to levy a thousand able-bodied men. They quitted their devotions, and performed their commission before eight at night, and had them ready armed for their march before morning. The service they were designed for was to assist the French in raising the siege of Calais, then besieged by the Spaniards; but the place being taken by the time they reached Dover, they returned to the city, after a week's absence. From the usual policy of Elizabeth, it is possible the sermon and order were both preconcerted; the moment of devotion being the aptest to inspire zeal, and promote an enthusiastic ardor in the people to fly to a standard raised against a nation so detested, and so inimical to our religion and liberties, as the Spaniards.

The last sermon which was preached at this place, was before James I. who came in great state on horseback from Whitehall, on Midlent

Sunday, 1620: he was received at Temple-bar by the lord mayor and aldermen, who presented him with a purse of gold. At St. Paul's he was received by the clergy in their richest vestments. Divine service was performed, attended with organs, cornets, and sagbots; after which his majesty went to a prepared place, and heard a sermon at the Cross, preached by John King, bishop of London. The object of the sermon was the repairing of the cathedral. The king and the principal persons retired from the Cross to the bishop's palace, to consult on the matter, and, after a magnificent banquet, the court returned to Whitehall*.

I will not mention the different misfortunes this cathedral experienced, except the last, previous to its final destruction by the great fire. In 1561, the noble spire was totally burnt by lightning, or, as others say, by the carelessness of a workman, who made a confession of it on his death-bed, and never restored. This circumstance shows the date of 1560, to Aggas's famous survey of London, to have been erroneous: he having given the church without the spire; which he never could have omitted, had it existed at that time.

* Stow's Annals, 1033. Hist. London, I. book iii. 151.





J. Goussier del.

St. Pauls.

In consequence of the resolutions taken in 1620, by James I. to repair the cathedral, the celebrated Inigo Jones was appointed to the work. But it was not attempted till the year 1633, when Laud laid the first stone, and Inigo the fourth. That great architect begun with a most notorious impropriety, giving to the west end a portico of the Corinthian order (beautiful indeed) to this ancient Gothic pile*; and to the ends of the two transepts Gothic fronts in a most horrible style. The great fire made way for the restoring of this magnificent pile by sir Christopher Wren, surveyor-general of his majesty's works, an architect worthy of so great a design. I will not attempt to describe so well-known a building; the description is well done in several books easy to be had†. Sir Christopher made a model in wood of his first conception for re-building this church, in the Roman style. He had in it an eye to the loss of the pulpit-cross, and had supplied its place by a magnificent auditory

* Parentalia, 273.

† London and its Environs described, in 6 vols. 8vo. 1761—Stranger's Guide through London, duod. 1786—Besides the larger works, such as, Wren's Parentalia—Maitland's London—Strype's edition of Stow, &c.

within, for the reception of a large congregation. This was approved by men of excellent judgment, but laid aside, under the notion it had not sufficiently a temple-like form. A second was made, selected out of various sketches he had drawn; on this design sir Christopher set a high value: but this was also rejected*. The third, which produced the present noble pile, was approved and executed. A singular accident happened at the beginning: while the great architect was setting out the dimensions of the dome, he ordered a common labourer to bring him a flat stone, to be laid as a direction to the masons; he brought a fragment of a gravestone, on which was the word RESURGAM. This was not lost on sir Christopher; he caught the idea of the Phœnix, which he placed on the south portico, with that word cut beneath.

The first stone was laid on June 21, 1675; and the building was completed by him in 1710†; but the whole decorations were not finished till 1723‡. It was a most singular circumstance, that notwithstanding it was thirty-five years in building, it was begun and

* Parentalia, 282. † The same, 292. ‡ Maitland, ii.

finished by one architect, and under one prelate, Henry Compton, bishop of London. The church of St. Peter's was a hundred and thirty-five years in building, in the reigns of nineteen popes, and went through the hands of twelve architects. It is not, as often mistaken, built after the model of that famous temple: it is the entire conception of our great countryman; and has been preferred in some respects, by a judicious writer, to even the Roman Basilica. Its dimensions are less. The comparative view is given in the Parentalia, and copied in London and its Environs.—I will only mention the great outlines: the height of St. Peter's, to the top of the cross, is four hundred and thirty-seven feet and a half; that of St. Paul's, three hundred and forty feet: so that, from its situation, it is lofty enough to be seen from the sea. The length of the first, is seven hundred and twenty-nine feet; of the latter, five hundred. The greatest breadth of St. Peter's is three hundred and sixty-four; of St. Paul's, one hundred and eighty. I am sorry to relate that our great architect, to whom our capital was so highly indebted, was, in 1718, dismissed at the age of ninety, from his employ (which he had for the space of fifty years most

honorably discharged) in favor of Mr. Benson, whose demerits became soon so apparent, as to occasion his almost immediate removal.

For the honor of our kingdom, it must be told, that no less than 126,604*l.* 6*s.* 5*d.* was collected, in various parts, between the year 1669 and 1685, first towards the repair, and afterwards towards the re-building the fabric : the far greater part of which was contributed by the venerable and worthy clergy of that period.

In the reigns of James I. and Charles I. the body of this cathedral was the common resort of the politicians, the news-mongers, and idle in general. It was called *Paul's walk*, and the frequenters known by the name of *Paul's walkers*. It is mentioned in the old plays, and other books of the times. The following droll description may possibly give some amusement to the reader :

“ It is the land’s epitome, or you may call
“ it the lesser ile of Great Brittain. It is
“ more than this, the whole world’s map,
“ which you may here discern in its perfect’s
“ motion, justling and turning. It is a heap
“ of stones and men, with a vast confusion of
“ languages ; and, were the steeple not sanc-

“ tified, nothing liker Babel. The noyse in it
 “ is like that of bees, a strange humming or
 “ buzze, mixt of walking, tongues, and feet.
 “ It is a kind of still roare, or loud whisper.
 “ It is the great exchange of all discourse, and
 “ no busines whatsoever but is here stirring
 “ and a foot. It is the synod of all pates
 “ politicke, joynted and laid together in the
 “ most serious posture ; and they are not halfe
 “ so busie at the parliament. It is the anticke
 “ of tailes to tailes, and backes to backes; and
 “ for vizards, you need goe no further than
 “ faces. It is the market of young lecturers,
 “ whom you may cheapen here at all rates and
 “ sizes. It is the generall mint of all famous
 “ lies, which are here, like the legends popery
 “ first coyn’d and stamp’t in the church. All
 “ inventions are emptyed here, and not few
 “ pockets. The best signe of a temple in it is,
 “ that it is the theeves sanctuary, which robbe
 “ more safely in the croud then a wilderness,
 “ whilst every searcher is a bush to hide them.
 “ It is the other expence of the day, after
 “ playes, taverne, and a baudy house, and
 “ men have still some oathes left to sweare
 “ here. It is the eare’s brothell, and satisfies
 “ their lust and ytch. The visitants are all

“ men, without exceptions ; but the principall
 “ inhabitants and possessors are stale knights,
 “ and captaines out of service ; men of long
 “ rapiers and breeches, which after all turne
 “ merchants here, and trafficke for newes.
 “ Some make it a preface to their dinner, and
 “ travell for a stomacke : but thriftier men
 “ make it their ordinarie, and boord here verie
 “ cheape. Of all such places it is least haunt-
 “ ed with hobgoblins, for if a ghost would
 “ walke, move he could not*.”

The statue of queen Anne, of white marble, with the figures of Britain, France, Ireland, and America at the base, is placed before the western front. This rose from the chizzel of Francis Bird, as did the conversion of St. Paul in the pediment, and the bas-reliefs under the portico†. Let the fine irony of sir Samuel Garth, whose spirit lay dormant till it rose in later days wrapped in the sheets of the eloquent Junius, conclude all I have said of this majestic pile.

Near the vast bulk of that stupendous frame
 Known by the Gentiles great Apostle's name,

* Microcosmographie, 1628.

† Anecdotes of Painting, iii. 150.

With grace divine, great Anna's seen to rise,
An awful form that glads a nation's eyes:
Beneath her feet four mighty realms appear,
And with due reverence pay their homage there.
Britain and Ireland seem to own her grace,
And ev'n wild India wears a smiling face.

But France alone with downcast eyes is seen,
The sad attendant of so good a queen:
Ungrateful country! to forget so soon
All that great Anna for thy sake has done:
When sworn the kind defender of thy cause,
Spite of her dear religion, spite of laws;
For thee she sheath'd the terrors of her sword,
For thee she broke her gen'ral—and her word:
For thee her mind in doubtful terms she told,
And learn'd to speak like oracles of old.
For thee, for thee alone, what cou'd she more?
She lost the honor she had gain'd before;
Lost all the trophies which her arms had won,
(Such Cæsar never knew, nor Philip's son)
Resign'd the glories of a ten years reign,
And such as none but Marlborough's arm cou'd gain.
For thee in annals she's content to shine,
Like other monarchs of the Stuart line.

In digging the foundation for re-building this cathedral, it was discovered, beneath the graves mentioned at p. 15 of vol. I. that the foundation of the old church rested on a layer of hard and close pot earth. Curiosity led sir Christopher Wren to search farther. He found that

on the north side it was six feet thick, that it grew thinner towards the south, and on the decline of the hill was scarcely four. On advancing farther, he met with nothing but loose sand; at length he came to water and sand mixed with periwinkles, and other sea-shells; and, by boring, came at last to the beach, and under that the natural hard clay: which evinced that the sea had once occupied the space on which St. Paul's now stands. This sand had been one of those sand-hills frequent on many coasts, not only on those of Holland and Flanders, but on our own. It was the opinion of our great architect, that all the space between Camberwell hill and the hills of Essex had been a vast bay, at low-water a sandy plain. All which appears in some distant age to have been embanked, possibly by the Romans*, who were greatly employed in that useful work, *paludibus emuniendis*.

To the south of this cathedral are the college of Civilians, or Doctors Commons, the court of arches, the court of delegates, and several others, the great satellites of the church. The court of arches took its name, *curia de arcubus*,

* Parentalia, 285.

from having been once kept in Bow church, Cheapside. With the downfall of the church of Rome their powers decreased, and continued decreasing as the rights of mankind became better understood.

On Bennet-hill, adjacent to these courts, is the *College of Heralds*, a foundation of great antiquity, in which the records are kept of all the old blood of the kingdom. In the warlike times of our Henries and our Edwards, the heralds were in full employ, and often sent upon most dangerous services; to hurl defiance into the teeth of irritated enemies, or to bring to their duty profligate rebels. Sometimes it has cost them their nose and ears, and sometimes their heads. At present they rest safe from all harms: are often of great use in proving consanguinity, and helping people to supply legal claims to estates; and often are of infinite use to our numerous children of fortune, by furnishing them with a *quantum sufficit* of good blood, and enabling them to strut in the motley procession of gentility.

The house they occupy was built on the site of Derby-house, a palace of the great family of the Stanlies. It was built by the first earl, father-in-law to Henry VII. who in it lived

and died, as did his son George, the intended victim to the rage of Richard III. before the battle of Bosworth. Edward earl of Derby, that prodigy of charity and hospitality*, exchanged it with Edward VI. for certain lands adjoining to his park at Knowsley, in Lancashire. Queen Mary presented it to Dethick, garter king of arms, and his brother heralds, to live in, and discharge the business of their office†. This house was destroyed in the great fire, but soon re-built. It is inhabited by several of the heralds. J. C. Brooke, Esq.; Somerset, must permit me to acknowledge his frequent services and liberal communications.

In this neighbourhood, to the west, stood the royal wardrobe, kept in a house built by sir John Beauchamp, who made it his residence. It was sold to Edward III. In the fifth of Edward IV. it was given to William lord Hastings, and was afterwards called Huntingdon-house, and became the lodging of Richard III in his second year.

Adjacent to it (on the west) was Scrope's inn, in the 31st of Henry VI.

Cross Bennet-hill passes *Knight-rider-street*, so named from the gallant train of knights who

* Stow's *Survaie*, 138. † Collins's *Peerage*, ii. 53—Stow, 694.

were wont to pass this way, in the days of chivalry, from the Tower Royal to the gay tournaments at Smithfield. From hence I pass to the *King's Exchange*, or the *Old Change*, a street parallel to the east side of St. Paul's church-yard, which crosses the Roman road, or Watling-street, and terminates close to the west end of Cheapside. This was the seat of the king's exchanger, who delivered out to the other exchangers, through the kingdom, their coining irons, and received them again when worn out, with an account of the sums coined: neither was any body to make change of plate, or other mass of silver, unless at this place*.

To the east of Knight-rider-street, on the south side of Basing-lane, stood the mansion of sir John Gisors, mayor of London, and constable of the Tower in 1311. In the turbulent time of Edward II. he was charged with several harsh and unjust proceedings, and, being summoned to appear before the king's justices, to answer to the accusation, he, and other principal citizens, fled, and put themselves under the protection of the rebellious barons. His house was built upon arched vaults, and had

* Stow's Survaie, 609, 610.

arched gates made of stone brought from Caen. In the lofty roofed hall, says Stow, in his *Survaie*, p. 665, stood a large fir-pole, near forty feet high, which was feigned to have been the staff of Gerardus, a mighty giant: which proved to be no more than a May-pole, which, according to ancient custom, used to be decked, and placed annually before the door. From this fable the house long bore the name of Gerard's-hall, but it was properly changed to that of Gisors. It remained in the family till the year 1386, when it was alienated by Thomas Gisors. The house was divided into several parts, and in the time of Stow was a common hosterie, or inn. At present nothing remains but the vault, which serves as cellars to the houses built on the site of the old mansion.

In the same street was *Ormond-place*, belonging to the Botelers. In the 5th of Edward IV. it was given to the queen; but in 1515 it was restored to the Botelers.

In this street stood the College of Physicians, till it was destroyed by the great fire: it was founded by the ornament of his age, doctor Linacre, the greatest and most general scholar of the time. He lived in this street, and left his house to the public, for the use of his in-

stitution. He was appointed by Henry VII. physician to prince Arthur, and also his tutor. He was besides physician to that monarch, and Henry VIII.; and died in 1524, an honour to our country. He had travelled much, and was particularly respected by the reigning duke of Tuscany, (the politest scholar of his days), and other foreigners; and met at home with a return suitable to his merit.

Cheapside received its name from *Chepe*, a market, as being originally the great street of splendid shops. In the year 1246 it was an open field, called Crown-field, from an hosterie, or inn, with the sign of a crown, at the east end. "At the same period," adds Stow, at p. 187 of his Chronicle, "nor two hundred years after, was any street in London paved, except 'Thames-street, and from Ludgate-hill to Charing-Cross.'" The goldsmiths' shops were particularly superb, "consisting," says Stow, "of a most beautiful frame of faire houses and shops than be within the walls of London or elsewhere in England, commonly called Goldsmiths-row; builded by Thomas Wood, goldsmith, and one of the sheriffes of London in 1491. It contained tenne faire dwelling houses, and fourteen shops, all in

“ one frame, uniformly builded foure stories
“ high, beautified toward the street with the
“ goldsmithes arms, and likeness of woodmen,
“ in memorie of his name, riding on monstrous
“ beasts, all richly painted and gilt*.”

In Foster-lane, which opens into the west end of this street; stands the hall of this opulent company. In the court-room is a fine portrait of sir Hugh Myddelton, with a shell by him, out of which he may be supposed to have poured the useful element to the thirsting metropolis. The words *Fontes Foudinæ* are painted on the picture, to imply his double attentions. The wealth he got in the mines was totally exhausted in the execution of his project, of which the metropolis, to this moment, receives increasing benefit. Sir Hugh left a share in the New River to this company, for the benefit of the decayed members; which, even in 1704, amounted to 134*l*.

Here is a good portrait of sir Martin Bowes, lord mayor in 1545, with his chain and robes of office. The date of his picture is 1566.

St. Dunstan appears here in canvas, in a rich robe, and with his crosier. The unfor-

* Stow's Survaie, 660.

fortunate devil is not forgotten, roaring between the pincers of the saint; with the heavenly host above, applauding the deed. It seems by this that St. Dunstan amused himself in works of gold as well as iron: so that it is no wonder to see the evil spirit in a place where the *irrita-menta malorum* so much abound.

Queen Elizabeth presented this company with a silver cup, out of which annual libations are made to her memory. She was particularly kind to the citizens, and borrowed money of them on all occasions. The goldsmiths must of course enjoy a distinguished place in her esteem.

This company appeared as a fraternity as early as 1180, being then amerced for being *adulterine*, or for setting up without the king's licence. In the reign of Edward III. they obtained a patent, and were incorporated for the sum of ten marks. Richard II. confirmed the same, in consideration of the sum of twenty marks. They increased in wealth, and have left evident marks of charity, by having above a thousand pounds a-year to dispose of for benevolent purposes. They became in time the bankers of the capital. The Lombards were the first and the greatest, and most of the

money contracts in old times passed through their hands. Many of our monarchs were obliged to them for money. They did not seem to like trusting Henry IV. on his bond, so took the customs in pawn for their loan.

The business of goldsmiths was confined to the buying and selling of plate, and foreign coins of gold and silver, melting them, and coining others at the mint. The banking was accidental, and foreign to their institution.

Regular banking by private people resulted, in 1643, from the calamity of the time, when the seditious spirit was incited by the arts of the parliamentary leaders. The merchants and tradesmen, who before trusted their cash to their servants and apprentices, found that no longer safe; neither did they dare to leave it in the mint at the Tower, by reason of the distresses of majesty itself, which before was a place of public deposit. In the year 1645 they began to place it in the hands of goldsmiths, when they first began publicly to exercise both professions. Even in my days were several very eminent bankers, who kept the goldsmith's shop: but they were more frequently separated. The first regular banker was Mr. Francis Child, goldsmith, who began business soon after the

Restoration. He was the father of the profession, a person of large fortune and most respectable character. He married, between the years 1665 and 1675, Martha, only daughter of Robert Blanchard, citizen and goldsmith, by whom he had twelve children. Mr. Child was afterwards knighted. He lived in Fleet-street, where the shop still continues*, in a state of the highest respectability. Mr. Granger† mentions Mr. Child as successor to the shop of alderman Backwel, a banker in the time of Charles II. noted for his integrity, abilities, and industry; who was ruined by the shutting up of the exchequer in 1672. His books were placed in the hands of Mr. Child, and still remain in the family.

The next ancient shop was that possessed at present by Messrs. Snow and Denne, a few doors to the west of Mr. Child's; who were goldsmiths of consequence in the latter part of the same reign. To the west of Temple Bar, the only one was that of Messrs. Middleton and Campbel, goldsmiths, who flourished in 1692, and is now continued, with great credit, by

* For these particulars I am obliged to the civility of Mr. Dent, partner in this great shop.

† Vol. iii. 410.

Mr. Coutts. From thence to the extremity of the western end of the town, there was none till the year 1756, when the respectable name of Backwel* rose again, conjoined to those of Darel, Hart, and Croft, who with great reputation opened their shop in Pall-mall.

Foster-lane bounds on the east that remarkable place, *St. Martin's Le Grand: imperium in imperio*: surrounded by the city, yet subject, near three centuries, to the governing powers of Westminster Abbey. A large and fair college was founded, A. D. 700, by Wythred king of Kent; and re-built and chiefly endowed by two noble Saxon brothers, Ingelric and Edward, about the year 1056. William the Conqueror confirmed it in 1068, and even made it independent of every other ecclesiastical jurisdiction, from the regal and even the papal†. It was governed by a dean, and had a number of secular canons. Succeeding monarchs confirmed all its privileges. It had *Sak, Sok, Tol*, and all the long list of Saxon indulgences,

* Of the same family with the great Mr. Backwel. He favoured me with a beautiful print of his worthy relation, which had been engraven in Holland, after his flight from his profligate country.

† Newcourt's Repertorium, i. 424, &c.

enumerated by the accurate Strype*. It had also from the beginning the dreadful privilege of sanctuary, which was the cause of its being the resort of every species of profligates, from the murderer to the pick-pocket; and was most tenaciously vindicated by its holy rulers. In 1439 a soldier, who for some crime was conducted from Newgate towards Guildhall, was rescued by five fellows who rushed out of Panyer-alley, and who fled with him into the adjacent sanctuary. The sheriffs of that year, Philip Malpas and Robert Marshall, entered the church, and seizing on the soldier and other ruffians, carried them chained to Newgate*. The dean and chapter complained of this breach of privilege: the cause was heard, and the sheriffs were obliged to deliver the men into the sanctuary. But in 1457 the king thought proper to regulate these privileges, and to distinguish how far they might be protected; and that the dean and chapter should take care that none of the villanous refugees should become further noxious to their fellow-creatures†.

A magnificent church was erected within this jurisdiction, which was continued till the col-

* Strype's Stow, i. book iii. 107. † Ibid. 103.

‡ The same, i. book iii.

lege was surrendered, in 1548, when it was pulled down, and a great tavern erected in the place. St. Martin's Le Grand was then, and still continues, under the government of the dean of Westminster. It was granted to that monastery by Henry VII. It still continues independent of the city: numbers of mechanics, (particularly taylors and shoemakers), set up there, and exercise their trades within its limits, and have vote for the members of the borough of Westminster. The dean and chapter have a court here, and a prison: and, I think, all processes to be executed within this liberty, are to be directed, by the sheriffs of London, to the constable of the dean and chapter of Westminster.

This church, with those of Bow, St. Giles's Cripplegate, and Barkin, had its *Curfew* bell long after the servile injunction laid on the Londoners had ceased. These were sounded to give notice to the inhabitants of those districts to keep within, and not to wander in the streets: which were infested by a set of ruffians, who made a practice of insulting, wounding, robbing, and murdering the people, whom they happened to meet abroad during night*.

* Strype's Stow, i. book iii. 106.

The view we have of Cheapside, as it appeared just before the great fire, shows that it was spacious and beautiful. The cross and conduit are to be seen; and the long row of shops, which projected from the houses, reached to the bottom of the first floors, and were lighted by windows in the roofs. This shows the ancient forms of building our more magnificent streets. On the south side stands the church of *St. Mary le Bow*, or *de arcubus*, because it originally was built upon arches. It perished in 1666, and was re-built after a design of sir Christopher Wren's. I cannot express myself better than in the words of an ingenious writer, who calls it "a delightful absurdity*." In this church was interred sir John Coventry, mercer, lord mayor in 1425, and ancestor and founder of the family of the earl of Coventry. I beg leave here to remind several other noble peers of their industrious and honest forefathers.

John Coventry, son of William Coventry, of the city of that name, was an opulent mercer of the city of London, and mayor in 1425: a most spirited magistrate, who dared to interfere in

* Critical Review, &c. 39.

the dreadful quarrel between Humphrey duke of Gloucester and the insolent cardinal Beaufort, which he successfully quelled. From his loins is descended the present earl of Coventry.

The family of Rich, earls of Warwick and Holland, arose from Richard Rich, an opulent mercer, sheriff in the year 1441. His descendant Richard was distinguished by his knowledge of the law: became solicitor-general in the reign of Henry; and treacherously effected the ruin of sir Thomas More: was created a baron of the realm in the reign of Edward VI. and became lord chancellor by the favour of the same monarch.

The Hollis's, earls of Clare, and afterwards dukes of Newcastle, sprung from sir William Holles, mayor in 1540, son to William Holles, citizen and baker: his great grandson was the first who was called to the house of peers, in the reign of James I. by the title of lord Houghton, and soon after was advanced to the dignity of earl of Clare. The fourth of that title was created, by king William, duke of Newcastle; but the title became extinct in his name in 1711.

Sir Thomas Leigh, mayor in 1558, furnished the peerage with the addition of two. He

was son to Roger Leigh, of Wellington, Shropshire. Sir Thomas's grandson, Francis, was created by Charles I. lord Dunsmore, and afterwards earl of Chichester; and sir Thomas's second son, sir Thomas Leigh, of Stonely, had the honour of being called to the house of peers by the same monarch, by the title of lord Leigh of Stonely.

The Pleydel-Bouvieries, earls of Radnor, descend from Edward des Bouverie, who died an opulent Turkey-merchant in 1694.

Ducie, lord Ducie de Morton, is descended from sir Robert Ducie, baronet, sheriff in 1620, and mayor in 1631. He became banker to Charles I. and, on the breaking out of the civil war, lost 80,000*l.* owing by his majesty. Yet is said to have left behind him 400,000*l.* So profitable, in all ages, are to individuals, the calamities of war.

Paul Banning, sheriff in 1593, had a son of the same name, who was first created a baronet, and in the third of Charles I. a baron of this realm, by the title of baron Banning; and soon after a viscount, by the title of baron Banning of Sudbury. He was buried in the paternal tomb, in the church of St. Olave's. His house was in Mark-lane: after the fire of London, the

business of the custom-house being transacted in that which went under the name of lord Banning's*.

The Cranfields, earls of Middlesex, rose from Lionel Cranfield, a citizen of London, bred up in the custom-house†. He became in 1620, lord treasurer of England. The duke of Dorset is descended from Frances, sister and heir to the third earl of Middlesex, married to Richard earl of Dorset.

The noble family of Ingram, viscount Irwin, were raised, in the reign of queen Elizabeth, by Hugh Irwin, citizen, merchant, and tallow-chandler, who died in 1612. He left a large fortune between two sons; of which sir Arthur, the younger, settled in Yorkshire, and purchased a considerable estate, the foundation of the great fortune at present enjoyed by the family.

Sir Stephen Brown, son of John Brown of Newcastle, mayor in 1438, and again in 1448, was a grocer; and gave to us another peer, in the person of sir Anthony Brown, created viscount Mountague by Philip and Mary, in 1554.

The Legges rose to be earls of Dartmouth.

* City Remembrancer, ii. 28.—The name is often spelt Bayning.

† Kennet, ii. 727.

The first who was nobilitated was that loyal and gallant sea-officer George Legge, created baron of Dartmouth in 1682. He was descended from an ancestor of one of the above-mentioned names, who filled the prætorian chair of London in the years 1347 and 1354, having, by his industry in the trade of a skinner, attained to great wealth.

Sir Geffry Bullen, mayor in 1458, was grandfather to Thomas earl of Wiltshire, father of Anna Bullen, and grandfather to queen Elizabeth; the highest genealogical honour the city ever possessed.

Sir Baptist Hicks was a great mercer at the accession of James I. and made a vast fortune by supplying the court with silks. He was first knighted, afterwards created viscount Cambden. It is said he left his two daughters a hundred thousand pounds a-piece. He built a large house in St. John's-street, for the justices of Middlesex to hold their sessions, which (till its demolition a very few years ago, upon the erection of a new sessions-house on Clerkenwell Green) retained the name of Hicks's Hall.

The Capels, earls of Essex, are descended from sir William Capel, draper, mayor in 1503. He first set up a cage in every ward, for the punishment of idle people.

190 NOBILITY DESCENDED FROM CITIZENS.

Michael Dormer, mercer, mayor in 1542, produced the future lord Dormers.

Edward Osborne, by his fortunate leap, as before related, when apprentice to sir William Hewet, attained in consequence great wealth and honours. He was mayor in 1583; and from his loins sprung the dukes of Leeds.

From sir William Craven, merchant-taylor, mayor in 1611, sprung the gallant earl Craven, who was his eldest son, and was greatly distinguished by his actions in the service of the unfortunate Elector Palatine, by his attachment to the dowager, and his marriage with that illustrious princess.

Lord viscount Dudley and Ward is descended from William Ward, a wealthy goldsmith in London, and jeweller to Henrietta Maria, queen to Charles I. His son, Humble Ward, married Frances, grand-daughter of Edward Sutton, lord Dudley, on the death of her grandfather baroness of Dudley; and he himself created, in 1643, lord Ward, of Birmingham.

The old church of Bow was founded in the time of William the Conqueror; we have before given the origin of the name, which was from the arches of the foundation, not of the steeple,

which was re-built with arches, or in a crown fashion, but not till long after the year 1512*. This had long been a noted sanctuary, and was one of those which Henry VIII. in his 32d year, exempted from suppression. In this tower, in 1196, one William Fitz-Osbert, *alias* Long Beard, a seditious fellow of uncommon eloquence, but of the lowest rank, set up as advocate for the poorer citizens against the oppressions of the rich. He took opportunity of beginning a tumult by inflaming their minds against a certain tax, raised entirely for the necessities of the state. Many lives were lost on the occasion, at St. Paul's. Hubert, the great justiciary, summoned Long Beard to appear before him; but found him so well supported, that he thought it prudent to forbear punishment. This served but to increase his insolence. He grew so outrageous, that the citizens were resolved to bring him to justice: a resolute band made the attempt, when he and a few desperate fellows fled to the tower of Bow steeple, which they fortified. The besiegers, seeing the mob assemble from all parts to his rescue, made a fire at the bottom, which forced him and his

* Newcourt's Repertorium, i. 437.

companions to sally out; but they were taken, and the next day he and eight more were dragged by their heels to the Elms at Smithfield, and there hanged. Long after those days the hurdle, or the sledge, were permitted, as a sort of indulgence to the wretched sufferers*. It was said, that finding himself deserted by Heaven, he at the gallows "forsook Mary's Son (as he "called our SAVIOUR), and called upon the Devil "to helpe and deliver him." Yet, notwithstanding this, a cunning priest, a relation of his, stole his body, and pretended many miracles were wrought at the place of execution; and many persons passed the night on the spot which deprived them of a martyr, who died supporting the majesty of the people, as Thomas Becket did that of the pope.

In the middle of the street, a little to the west of the church, stood the cross and the conduit. The first was one of the affectionate tokens of Edward I. towards his queen Elinor, built where her body rested in its way to interment, in 1290. It had originally the statue of the queen, and in all respects resembling that at Northampton; at length, falling to decay, it

* Blackstone's Comm.

was re-built, in 1441, by John Hutherby, mayor of the city, at the expence of several of the citizens. It was ornamented with various images, such as that of the Resurrection, of the Virgin, of Edward the Confessor, and the like. At every public entry it was new gilt, for the magnificent processions took this road. After the Reformation, the images gave much offence; the goddess Diana was substituted instead of the Virgin, after the symbols of superstition had been frequently mutilated. Queen Elizabeth disapproved of those attacks on the remnants of the old religion, and offered a large reward for the discovery of the offenders. She thought that a plain cross, the mark of the religion of the country, ought not to be the occasion of any scandal; so directed that one should be placed on the summit, and gilt*. Superstition is certain, in course of time, to take the other extreme. In the year 1643, the parliament voted the taking down of all crosses, and the demolishing of all popish paintings, &c. The destruction of this cross was committed to sir Robert Harlow; who went on the service with true zeal, attended by a troop of horse

* Stow's Survaie, 485.

and two companies of foot, and executed his orders most effectually. The same most *pious* and *religious noble* knight did also attack and demolish “the abominable and *most blasphemous* crucifix” in Christ’s hospital, and broke it into a thousand pieces*. In short, such was the rage of the times against the sign of our religion, that it was not suffered in shop-books, or even in the primers of children†; and as to the cross used in baptism, it became the abomination of abominations.

And some against all idolizing,
The Cross in shop-books, and baptizing.

The *Nag’s-head* tavern, almost opposite to the cross, was the fictitious scene of consecration of the protestant bishops, at the accession of queen Elizabeth, in 1559. It was pretended by the adversaries of our religion, that a certain number of ecclesiastics, in hurry to take possession of the vacant sees, assembled here, where they were to undergo the ceremony from Anthony Kitchen, alias Dustan, bishop

* Vicar’s Parliamentary Chron. 1646, p. 290.

† Gray’s *Hudibras*, ii. 253, note.—Consult also the note to *L’Hist. de l’Entrée de la Reyne Mere*, printed for W. Bowyer, p. 28.

of Llandaff, a sort of occasional conformist, who had taken the oaths of supremacy to Elizabeth. Bonner, bishop of London, (then confined in the Tower) hearing of it, sent his chaplain to Kitchen, threatening him with excommunication, in case he proceeded. On this the prelate refused to perform the ceremony: on which, say the catholics, Parker and the other candidates, rather than defer possession of their dioceses, determined to consecrate one another: which, says the story, they did without any sort of scruple, and Scorey began with Parker, who instantly rose archbishop of Canterbury. The refutation of this tale may be read in Strype's Life of archbishop Parker, at p. 57, which makes it needless for me to enter on the attempt. A view of the tavern, and its sign, is preserved in a print in the *Entrée de la Reyne Mere du Roy*, or of Mary de Medicis, when she visited our unfortunate monarch, Charles I. and her daughter, his fair spouse.

In *Laurence-lane*, not far from hence, was another public-house of much antiquity, and which is still in great business as a carriers' inn; the *Blossoms Inn*, so named from the rich border of flowers which adorned the original sign, that of St. Laurence. These were the

effects of his martyrdom, “ for (says the legend) flowers sprung up on the spot of his cruel martyrdom.”

In this street, between the cross and Soperslane, were held most splendid tournaments in the year 1331 ; they began Sept. 21, and lasted three days. A scaffold was erected for queen Philippa and her gay troop of ladies, all most richly attired, to behold the knights collected from all quarters to show their skill in deeds of arms. The upper part of the scaffold, on which the ladies were seated, “ brake in sunder, and,” as Stow says, “ whereby they were (with some shame) forced to fall downe ;” and many knights and others, which stood beneath, much hurt. The carpenters were saved from punishment, by the intercession of the queen ; but, to prevent such accidents in future, the king ordered a building of stone to be erected, near the church of St. Mary le Bow, for himself, the queen, and “ other states,” to see the gallant spectacles in safety*. This was used long after for the same purpose, even till the year 1410, when Henry IV. granted it to certain mercers, who converted it into shops, warehouses, and other requisites of their trade†.

* Stow's Survaie, 485.

† The same, 467.

A little to the east of the cross stood the conduit, which served as the mother, or chief aqueduct, which was to serve the lesser conduits with water, brought by pipes from Paddington. This stood on the site of the old conduit, founded in 1285, castellated with stone, and cisterned in lead, as old Stow tells us; and again re-built in 1479, by Thomas Ilan, one of the sheriffs. On some very festive occasions these conduits have been made to run with claret. Such was the case at the coronation of Anna Bullen; who was received at the lesser conduit by Pallas, Juno, and Venus. Mercury, in the name of the goddesses, presented to her a ball of gold divided into three parts, signifying three gifts bestowed on her by the deities, Wisdom, Riches, and Felicity. But, alas! beneath them lurked speedy disgrace, imprisonment, the block, and axe.

I cannot well fix the place where the old standard in Cheap stood. The time of its foundation is unknown. It appears to have been very ruinous in 1442, at which time Henry VI. granted a licence for the repairing of it, together with a conduit in the same. This was a place at which executions, and other acts of justice, were in old times frequently performed.

Here, in 1293, three men had their heads cut off, for rescuing a prisoner arrested by a city officer. In 1351, two fishmongers were beheaded at the standard, but their crime has not reached us. In 1461, John Davy had his hand struck off, for striking a man before the judges at Westminster; and in 1399, Henry IV. caused the blank charters made by Richard II. to be burned here, as we do libels in our times.

But these were legal acts. Many sad instances of barbarous executions were done in the fury of popular commotions. Richard Lions, an eminent goldsmith, and late sheriff of the city, was in 1381 (with several others) cruelly beheaded here by order of Wat Tyler. Lions was interred in the church of St. James, Garlic-hith, and on his tomb (now lost) was his figure in a long flowered gown, a large purse hanging in a belt from his shoulders, his hair short, his beard forked, a plain hood falling back and covering his shoulders. At the same time numbers of foreign merchants, especially Flemings, were dragged from the churches, and, the *Shibboleth** of *bread* and *cheese* being put to them (which they pro-

* Judges, chap. xii. ver. 6.

nouncing *brot* and *cawse*) they were instantly put to death. In 1450, lord Say, high treasurer of England, lost his head at the standard, by the brutality of John Cade. Shakespeare admirably describes the tragic scene*.

Whether Walter Stapleton, bishop of Exeter, suffered by the popular fury on this spot, is rather uncertain; some imagine that he was beheaded at a cross before the north door of St. Paul's†; to which church he was flying for refuge, and unfortunately seized by the mob before he had taken sanctuary.

Through this street, and, probably to this cross, in 1439, walked barefooted, with a taper in her hand, Elinor Cobham, wife to Humphrey duke of Glocester, charged with the crime of sorcery, with intending the death of the king by melting an image of wax, with which his body was to sympathize.

Limus ut hic durescit, et hæc ut cera liquescit†.

A more serious fate attended her pretended accomplices; a woman was burnt, and three

* Henry VI. part ii.

† Stow's *Survaie*, 483.

‡ In Virgil's time, applied to melt the hearts of the cruel fair; afterwards, to waste the body of any hated person.

men, among whom was her chaplain, were hanged.

In Bread-street, which opens into Cheapside, stood the mansion of Edward Stafford, last earl of Wiltshire; which, in 1499, he left to his cousin the duke of Buckingham.

The *Guildhall* of this vast city stands at the end of a street running northward from Cheapside. Before the year 1411, the court-hall, or bury, as it was called, was held at Alderman's bury, so denominated from their meeting there. Stow remembered its ruins, and says, that in his days it was used as Carpenters-hall. It was succeeded by a new one, begun in 1411, and finished in twenty years, by voluntary contributions, by sums raised for pardons of offences, and by fines. Its Gothic front terminates the end of King-street. Its length is a hundred and fifty-three feet; its breadth forty-eight; its height fifty-five; so that it is capable of holding thousands of people. Elections, and every species of city business, is transacted here.

Within are portraits of numbers of our judges, who frequently try causes under this roof. I must direct the reader's attention to twelve of that order, of peculiar merit: these are the portraits of the able and virtuous sir



Philadelphia

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Matthew Hale, and his eleven cotemporary judges; who, after the dreadful calamity of 1666, regulated the re-building of the city of London by such wise rules, as to prevent the endless train of vexatious law-suits which might ensue; and been little less chargeable than the fire itself had been. This was principally owing to sir Matthew Hale, who conducted the business; and sat with his brethren in Clifford's Inn, to compose all differences between landlord and tenant. These portraits were painted by Michael Wright, a good painter in the time of Charles II. and James II. and who died in the year 1700. It was designed that sir Peter Lely should draw these pictures, but he fastidiously refused to wait on the judges at their chambers. Wright received sixty pounds a-piece for his work*. In the year 1779, they were found to be in so bad a condition, as to make it an even question with the committee of city lands, whether they should be continued in their places, or committed to the flames. To the eternal honour of alderman Townsend, his vote decided in favour of their preservation†. He recommended Mr. Roma, (now unhappily

* Anecdotes of Painting, iii. 40.

† London's Gratitude, &c. 19.

snatched from us by death), who, by his great skill in repairing pictures, rescued them from the rage of time: so that they may remain another century, a proof of the gratitude of our capital. These *were* proofs of a sense of real merit: but in how many places do we meet instances of a temporary idolatry, the phrenzy of the day! Statues and portraits appear, to the astonishment of posterity, purged from the prejudices of the time.

The things themselves are neither scarce nor rare:
The wonder's, how the devil they got there!

Facing the entrance are two tremendous figures, by some named *Gog* and *Magog*; by Stow, an ancient Briton and Saxon. I leave to others the important decision. At the bottom of the room is a marble group, of good workmanship, (with London and Commerce whimpering like two marred children), executed soon after the year 1770, by Mr. Bacon. The principal figure was also a giant, in his day, the raw-head and bloody-bones to the good folks at St. James's; which, while remonstrances were in fashion, annually haunted the court in terrific forms. The eloquence dashed in the face of majesty, alas! proved in vain.

The spectre was there condemned to silence; but his patriotism may be read by his admiring fellow-citizens, as long as the melancholy marble can retain the tale of the affrighted times.

The first time that this hall was used on festive occasions, was by sir John Shaw, goldsmith, knighted in the field of Bosworth. After building the essentials of good kitchens and other offices, in the year 1500 he gave here the mayor's feast, which before had usually been done in Grocers-hall. None of their bills of fare have reached me, but doubtlessly they were very magnificent. They at length grew to such excess, that, in the time of Philip and Mary, a sumptuary law was made to restrain the expence both of provisions and liveries: but I suspect, as it lessened the honour of the city, it was not long observed; for in 1554, the city thought proper to renew the order of council, by way of reminding their fellow-citizens of their relapse into luxury. Among the great feasts given here on public occasions, may be reckoned that given in 1612, on occasion of the unhappy marriage of the prince Palatine with Elizabeth, daughter of James I.; who, in defiance of the remonstrances of his better-judging father-in-law, rushed on the usurpation of the dominion of another monarch, and brought

204 BILL OF FARE FOR THE ENTERTAINMENT

great misery on himself and his amiable spouse. The next was in 1641, when Charles I. returned from his imprudent, inefficacious journey into Scotland. In the midst of the most factious and turbulent times, when every engine was set to work to annihilate the regal power, the city, under its lord mayor, sir William Acton, made a feast unparalleled in history for its magnificence. All external respect was payed to his majesty; the last he ever experienced in the inflamed city. Of the entertainment we know no more, than that it consisted of five hundred dishes. But of that which was given in our happier days, to his present majesty, in the mayoralty of sir Samuel Fludyer, the bill of fare is given us. This I print; and, as a parallel to it, that of another royal feast, given in 1487 at Whitehall, on occasion of the coronation of Elizabeth, queen of Henry VII. whom he treats with characteristical œconomy, notwithstanding a kingdom was her dower*.

THE KING'S TABLE, GEORGE III. 1761.

First Service.

	£.	s.	d.
12 Dishes of Olio, Turtle, Pot- tages, and Soups	24	2	0

* The whole account is given in Maitland, i, 341 to 344.

	£.	s.	d.
12 Dishes of Fish, viz. John Dories, } red Mulletts, &c. }	24	2	0
7 Ditto roast Venison	10	0	0
3 Westphalia Hams consume, and } richly ornamented	6	6	0
2 Dishes of Pullets à la Royale	2	2	0
2 Ditto of Tongues Espagniole	3	3	0
6 Ditto Chickens à la Reine ...	6	6	0
1 Ditto Tondron Devaux à la } Dauzie	2	2	0
1 Harrico	1	1	0
1 Dish Popiets of Veale Glasse	1	4	0
2 Dishes Fillets of Lamb, à la } Comte. }	2	2	0
2 Ditto Comports of Squabs	2	2	0
2 Ditto Fillets of Beef Marinate	3	0	0
2 Ditto of Mutton à la Memorance	2	2	0
32 Ditto fine Vegetables	16	16	0

Second Service.

6 Dishes fine Ortolans,	25	4	0
10 Ditto Quails	15	0	0
10 Ditto Notts	30	0	0
1 Ditto Wheat Ears	1	1	0
1 Goodevau Patte	1	10	0
1 Perrigoe Pye	1	10	0
1 Dish Pea-chicks	1	1	0

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	£	s.	d.
4 Dishes Woodcocks	4	4	0
2 Ditto Pheasants	3	3	0
4 Ditto Teal	3	3	0
4 Ditto Snipes	3	3	0
2 Ditto Partridges	2	2	0
2 Ditto Pattys Royal	3	0	0

Third Service.

1 Ragout Royal	1	1	0
8 Dishes of fine green Morells ..	8	8	0
10 Ditto fine green Peas	10	10	0
3 Ditto Asparagus Heads	2	2	0
3 Ditto fine fat Livers	1	11	6
3 Ditto fine Combs	1	11	6
5 Ditto green Truffles	5	5	0
4 Ditto Artichoaks, à la Provin- ciale	2	12	6
5 Ditto Mushrooms au Blank ..	2	12	6
1 Ditto Cardons, à la Bejamel ..	0	10	6
1 Ditto Knots of Eggs	0	10	6
1 Ditto Ducks Tongues	0	10	6
3 Ditto of Peths	1	11	6
1 Dish of Truffles in Oil	0	10	6
4 Dishes of Pallets	2	2	0
2 Ditto Ragout Mille	2	2	0

Fourth Service.

2 Curious ornamented Cakes....	2	12	0
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	£	s.	d.
12 Dishes of Blomanges, representing different figures	12	12	0
12 Ditto clear Marbrays	14	8	0
16 Ditto fine cut Pastry	16	16	0
2 Ditto mille Fuelles	1	10	6

The Centre of the Table.

1 Grand Pyramid of Demies of Shell-fish of various sorts ..	2	2	0
32 Cold Things of Sorts, viz. Temples, Shapes, Landscapes in Jellies, savory Cakes, and Almond Gothes	33	12	0
2 Grand Epergnes filled with fine Pickles, and garnished round with Plates of sorts, as Las-picks, Rolards, &c.	6	6	0

Total of the King's table £374 1 0

The whole of this day's entertainment cost the city 6,898*l.* 5*s.* 4*d.* A committee had been appointed out of the body of aldermen, who most deservedly received the thanks of the lord mayor and whole body corporate, for the skilful discharge of this important trust. The feast consisted of four hundred and fourteen

dishes, besides the dessert ; and the hospitality of the city, and the elegance of the entertainment, might vie with any that had ever preceded.

NUPTIAL TABLE. HENRY VII *.

First Course.

A Warner byfor the Course
 Sheldes of Brawne in Armor
 Frumetye with Venison
 Bruet riche
 Hart powdered graunt Chars
 Fesaunt intram de Royall
 Swan with Chawdron
 Capons of high Goe
 Lampervey in Galantine
 Crane with Cretney
 Pik in Latymer Sawce
 Heronusew with his Sique
 Carpe in Foile
 Kid reversed
 Perche in Jeloye depte
 Conys of high Grece
 Moten Roiall richely garnyshed
 Valance baked
 Custarde Royall

* Leland's Collectanea, iv. 216.

Tarte Poleyn
 Leyse Damask
 Frutt Synoper
 Frutt Formage
 A Soteltie, with writing of Balads.

Second Course.

A Warner byfor the Course
 Joly Ypocras
 Mamane with Lozengs of Golde
 Pekok in Hakell
 Bittowre
 Fesawnte
 Browes
 Egrets in Beorwetye
 Cokks
 Patrieche
 Sturgyn freshe Fenell
 Plovers
 Rabett Sowker
 Seyle in Fenyn entirely served richely
 Red Shankks
 Snytes
 Quayles
 Larkes ingraylede
 Creves de Endence
 Venesone in Paste Royall

Quince Baked

Marche Payne Royall

A colde bake Mete flourishede

Lethe Ciprus

Lethe Rube

Fruter Augeo

Fruter Mouniteyne

Castells of Jely in Temple wise made

A Soteltie.

These *sotelties*, or subilties as they were called, were the ornamental part of the dessert, and were extremely different from those in present use. In the inthronization feast of archbishop Wareham, on March 9th, 1504, the first course was preceded by "a warner*", conveyed upon a rounde boorde of viii panes, "with viii towres embatteled and made with "flowres, standynge on every towre a bedil in "his habite, with his staffe: and in the same "boorde, first the king syttinge in his parliament, with his lordes about hym in their "robes; and Saint Wylliam, lyke an archbishop, sytting on the ryght hand of the

* A warner was the first soteltie, and which preceded or gave warning of the courses. See Leland's Collect. vi. 21.

“ kyng: then the chauncelor of Oxforde, with
 “ other doctors about hym, presented the said
 “ lord Wylliam, kneelyng, in a doctor’s habite,
 “ unto the kyng, with his commend of vertue
 “ and cunnyng, &c. &c. And on the third
 “ boorde of the same warner, the Holy Ghoste
 “ appeared with bryght beames proceeding
 “ from hym of the gyftes of grace toward the
 “ sayde lorde of the feaste.” This is a speci-
 men of the ancient sotelties. This was a *Lenten*
 feast of the most luxurious kind. Many of the
 sotelties were suited to the occasion, and of the
 legendary nature; others historical: but all,
 without doubt, contrived “ with great cun-
 “ nyng.”

To these scenes of luxury and gluttony, let
 me oppose the simple fare at a feast of the
 wax-chandlers, on Oct. 28th, 1478. These
 were a flourishing company in the days of old,
 when gratitude to saints called so frequently for
 lights. How many thousands of wax candles
 were consumed on those occasions, and what
 quantities the expiatory offerings of private
 persons, none can enumerate. *Candle-mass* day
 wasted its thousands, and those all blessed by
 the priests, and adjured in solemn terms: “ I
 “ adjure thee, O waxen creature, that thou

“repel the devil and his sprights, &c. &c*.”

Certainly this company, which was incorporated in 1484, might have afforded a more delicate feast than

	£	s.	d.
Two loins of Mutton, and two loins of Veal	0	1	4
A loin of Beef	0	0	4
A leg of Mutton	0	0	2½
A Pig	0	0	4
A Capon	0	0	6
A Coney	0	0	2
One dozen of Pigeons	0	0	7
A hundred Eggs	0	0	8½
A Goose	0	0	6
A Gallon of Red Wine	0	0	8
A Kilderkin of Ale	0	0	8
	<hr/> £0 7 0 <hr/>		

Adjacent to Guildhall, is *Guildhall chapel*, or college, a Gothic building, founded by Peter Fanlore, Adam Francis, and Henry Frowick, citizens, about the year 1299. The establishment was a warden, seven priests, three clerks, and four choristers. Edward VI. granted it to

* Rev. Mr. Brand's edit. of Bourne's *Antiquitates Vulgares*, p. 222.

the mayor and commonalty of the city of London *. Here used to be service once a week, and also at the election of the mayor, and before the mayor's feast, to deprecate indigestions and all plethoric evils †. At present divine service is discontinued here, the chapel being used as a justice-room.

Adjoining to it once stood a fair library, furnished with books belonging to Guildhall, built by the executors of the famous Whittington. Stow says, that the protector Somerset sent to borrow some of the books, with a promise of restoring them; three *carries* were laden with them, but they never more were returned ‡.

Immediately beyond the chapel stands *Blackwall's hall*, or, more properly, Bakewell, from its having in later years been inhabited by a person of that name. It was originally called *Basing's haugh*, or hall, from a family of that name; the coats of arms of which were to be seen cut in stone, or painted, in the ancient building. It was on vaults of stone brought from Caen in Normandy; the time is uncertain, but certainly after the Conquest. The family

* Tanner. And Newcourt, i. 363.

† Newcourt, i. 364. ‡ Stow's *Survaie*, 493.

were of great antiquity. Solomon Basing was mayor in 1216; and another of the name sheriff in 1308. In 1397 the house was purchased by the mayor and commonalty for fifty pounds, and from that time has been used as the market of woollen cloth. It grew so ruinous in the time of queen Elizabeth, that it was pulled down, and re-built at the expence of twenty-five hundred pounds; much of it at the expence of Richard May, merchant-taylor. It consists at present of two large courts, with warehouses in all parts for the lodging of the cloth; but is very little used. Formerly there were proclamations issued to compel people to bring their goods into this hall, to prevent deceit in the manufactures, which might bring on us discredit in foreign markets, and also be the means of defrauding the poor children of Christ hospital of part of the revenue which arose from the hallage of this great magazine.

On the north side of Cheapside stood the hospital of St. Thomas of Acon, founded by Thomas Fitz-Theobald de Helles and his wife Agnes, sister to the turbulent Thomas Becket, who was born in the house of his father Gilbert, situated on this spot. The mother of our meek saint was a fair Saracen, whom his father had

married in the Holy Land. On the site of his house rose the hospital, built within twenty years after the murder of Thomas; yet such was the repute of his sanctity, that it was dedicated to him, in conjunction with the blessed Virgin, without waiting for his canonization. The hospital consisted of a master and several brethren, professing the rule of St. Austin. The church, cloisters, &c. were granted by Henry VIII. to the mercers' company, who had the gift of the mastership*.

In the old church were numbers of monuments; among others, one to James Butler earl of Ormond, and Joan his wife, living in the beginning of the reign of Henry VI. This whole pile was destroyed in the great fire, but was very handsomely re-built by the mercers' company, who have their hall here. In the portico to the chapel is a full-length figure recumbent of Richard Fishbourn, dressed in a furred gown and a ruff; he died in 1623, and, being a great benefactor to the place, received the honour of this monument.

In this chapel the celebrated, but unsteady, archbishop of Spalato, preached his first sermon,

* Tanner.

in 1617, in Italian, before the archbishop of Canterbury, and a splendid audience; and continued his discourses in the same place several times, after he had embraced our religion; but having the folly to return to his ancient faith, and trust himself among his old friends at Rome, he was shut up in the castle of St. Angelo, where he died in 1625.

This company is the first of the twelve, or such who are honoured with the privilege of the lord mayor's being elected out of one of them. The name by no means implied originally a dealer in silks: for mercery included all sorts of small wares, toys, and haberdashery*. But, as numbers of this opulent company were merchants, and imported great quantities of rich silks from Italy, the name became applied to the company, and all dealers in silk. Not fewer than sixty-two mayors were of this company, between the years 1214 and 1762; among which it reckons sir John Coventry, sir Richard Whittington, and sir Richard and sir John Gresham. We are obliged to the exact Strype for the list. In that by Maitland, the company each mayor was of, is omitted.

* Anderson's Dict. i. 145.



Immediately to the east is the narrow-street, the *Old Jewry*, which took its name from the great synagogue which stood there till the unhappy race were expelled the kingdom, in 1291. Their persecutions, under some of the preceding monarchs, nearly equalled those of the Christians under the Roman emperors: yet the love of gain retained them in our country in defiance of all their sufferings. A new order of friars, called *Fratres de Sacca*, or *de penitentia*, got possession of the Jewish temple: but did not hold it long. Robert Fitzwalter, the great banner-bearer of the city, requested, in 1305, that the friars might assign it to him. It seems it joined to his own house, which stood near the site of the present grocers'-hall. In 1439 it was occupied by Robert Lorge, mayor, who kept his mayoralty in this house; sir Hugh Clapton did the same in 1492; and after these tenants it was degraded into a tavern, distinguished by the sign of the Windmill.

The chapel, or church, was bought by the grocers' company, in 1411, from Fitzwalter, for three hundred and twenty marks*; who here layed the foundation of the present hall,

* Survaie, 476, 499.

a noble room, with a Gothic front, and bow window. Here, to my great surprize, I met again with sir John Cutler, knight and grocer, in marble and on canvas. In the first he is represented standing, in a flowing wig waved rather than curled, a laced cravat, and a furred gown with the folds not ungraceful: in all, except where the dress is inimical to the sculptor's art, it may be called a good performance. By his portrait we may learn that this worthy wore a black wig, and was a good-looking man. He was created a baronet November 12th, 1660. He died in 1693. His kinsman and executor, Edmund Boulter, esq. expended 7666*l.* on his funeral expences*. He is spoken of as a benefactor, and that he re-built the great parlour, and over it the court-room, which were consumed in the fire of 1666. He served as master of the company in 1652 and 1653, in 1688, and again a fourth time. The anecdote of his bounty to the College of Physicians, might have led one to suppose that the grocers had not met with more liberal treatment. But by the honours of the statue, and the portrait, he seems to have gained here a degree of popu-

* Strype's Stow, i. book i. p. 289.

larity. How far the character given of him by Mr. Pope may rest unimpeached, may remain a subject of farther enquiry:

Thy life more wretched, Cutler, was confess'd,
 Arise and tell me was thy death more bless'd?
 Cutler saw tenants break, and houses fall;
 For very want he could not build a wall.
 His only daughter in a stranger's power*;
 For very want he could not pay a dower.
 A few grey hairs his rever'nd temple crown'd,
 'Twas very want that sold them for ten pound.
 What ev'n-denied a cordial at his end,
 Banish'd the doctor, and expell'd the friend?
 What but a want, which you perhaps think mad,
 Yet numbers feel, the want of what he had!

This company follows the mercers; they were originally called *pepperers*, from their dealing so greatly in pepper: but in 1345 they were incorporated by the name of grocers, either because they sold things by, or dealt in *grossi*, or figs†. But from the beginning they

* He had two daughters; one married to sir William Portman, bart. the other to John Robartes, earl of Radnor; both married without his consent. The first died before him. *J. C. Brooke, esq., Somerset-Herald.*—The same authority tells me he had his grant of arms just before his death, wherein he is styled, “of the city of Westminster.”

† Survaie, 477.

trafficked in all the good things which the trade does to this day.

In this hall sate the famous committee of the parliament of 1641, which was to settle the reform of the nation, and conduct the inflammatory businesses of the times. Lord Clarendon gives the motives of fixing on this place: such as pretended fears for the safety of the friends of liberty; and the real and reasonable dread of the moderate men, who had been pointed out to the mob as enemies to their country—as the De Witts were by the patriots of Holland, and de Foulon and Berthier by those of France. The one gave security to the popular leaders, and the other lessened the minority, by frightening from attendance numbers who might have been of use to the royal cause.

In Queen-street, on the south side of Cheapside, stood *Ringed-hall*, the house of the earls of Cornwall, given by them, in Edward III.'s time, to the abbot of Beaulieu, near Oxford. Henry VIII. gave it to Morgan Philip, *alias* Wolfe. Near it was *Ipres-inn*, built by William of Ipres, in king Stephen's time, and continued in the same family in 1377.

I forgot *Bucklesbury*, a street which opens on the south side of Cheapside, a little to the

west of the grocers'-hall. It took its name from one Buckle, who had in it a large manour-house of stone. This man lost his life in a strange way. Near his house stood an old tower built by Edward I. called the Cornets tower, possibly a watch-tower, from the summit of which signals might have been given by the blowing of a horn. Here that monarch kept his exchange. About the year 1358 he gave it to St. Stephen's chapel, Westminster. This Buckle intended to pull down, and to have built a handsome house of wood; or, according to the expression of the times, a *goodly frame of timber*: but in greedily demolishing this tower, a stone fell on him, and crushed him to death; and another, who married his widow, set up the new-prepared frame of timber, and finished the work. This street, in Stow's time, was the residence of grocers and apothecaries*. I have heard that Bucklesbury was, in the reign of king William, noted for the great resort of ladies of fashion, to purchase tea, fans, and other Indian goods. King William, in some of his letters, appears to be angry with his queen for visiting these shops; which, it should seem,

* Survaie, 477.

by the following lines of Prior, were sometimes perverted to places of intrigue: for, speaking of Hans Carvel's wife, says the poet,

She first of all the town was told
Where newest Indian things were sold;
So in a morning, without boddice,
Slipt sometimes out to Mrs. Thody's,
To cheapen tea, or buy a skreen;
What else could so much virtue mean?

In the time of queen Elizabeth, this street was inhabited by chemists, druggists, and apothecaries. Mouffett, in his treatise on foods, calls on them to decide, whether sweet smells correct pestilent air: and adds, that Bucklesbury being replete with physic, drugs, and spicery, and being perfumed, in the time of the plague, with the pounding of spices, melting of gum, and making perfumes for others, escaped that great plague whereof such multitudes died, that scarce any house was left unvisited.

On the same side of the way is the *Mansion-house*; "damned, I may say, to everlasting fame*." The sight is relieved amply by another building behind it, *St. Stephen's, Walbrook*, a small church, the *chef d'œuvre* of

* Critical Review, &c. 36, 37.



Pantheon, Rome.

Engraving.

The Pantheon, Rome.

sir Christopher Wren, of more exquisite beauty.
“ Perhaps Italy itself, (says a judicious writer)
“ can produce no modern building that can vie
“ with this in taste and proportion: there is
“ not a beauty, which the plan would admit of,
“ that is not to be found here in the greatest
“ perfection; and foreigners, very justly, call
“ our taste in question, for understanding the
“ graces no better, and allowing it no higher
“ degree of fame*.

Over the altar is a beautiful picture of the martyrdom of St. Stephen, by Mr. West. The character of the saint is finely expressed in his angelic countenance, resigned to his fate, and full of sure and certain hope. I looked to no purpose for the statue erected, *Divæ Mac-Aulæ*, by her doating admirer, a former rector; which a successor of his has most profanely pulled down.

The Mansion-house, and many adjacent buildings, stand on the site of *Stocks-market*; which took its name from a pair of stocks for the punishment of offenders, erected in an open place near this spot, as early as the year 1281. This was the great market of the city during

* Critical Review, 37.

many centuries. In it stood the famous equestrian statue, erected in honour of Charles II. by his most loyal subject sir Robert Viner, lord mayor. Fortunately his lordship discovered one (made at Leghorn) of John Sobieski, king of Poland, trampling on a Turk. The good knight caused some alterations to be made, and christened the Polish monarch by the name of Charles, and bestowed on the turbaned Turk that of Oliver Cromwel; and thus new named, it arose on this spot in honour of his convivial monarch. The statue was removed, in 1738, to make room for the Mansion-house. It remained many years afterwards in an inn-yard: and in 1779 it was bestowed, by the common-council, on Robert Vyner, esq. who removed it to grace his country-seat.

The opening before the Mansion-house divides into three important streets: Cornhill in the center: the Bank of England, the old Thread-needle-street, on the north; and Lombard-street on the south. I shall pursue these as far as the spots which I have passed over, and give the remaining things worthy of notice. I shall take the middle way.

The *Royal Exchange*, that concourse of all the nations of the world, arises before us with

the full majesty of commerce. Whether we consider the grandeur of the edifice, or the vast concerns carried on within its walls, we are equally struck with its importance. But we are more astonished when we find that this expensive princely pile was the effect of the munificence of a private citizen, sir Thomas Gresham. Let the pride of my country not be suppressed, when I have opportunity of saying, that the original hint was given to him by a Welshman; by Richard Clough, afterwards knighted, originally his servant, and in the year 1561, by his merit and industry, advanced by sir Thomas to be his correspondent and agent in the then emporium of the world, Antwerp. Clough wrote to his master, to blame the city of London for neglecting so necessary a thing; bluntly telling, that they studied nothing else but their own private profit; that they were content to walk about in the rain, more like pedlars than merchants; and that there was no kind of people but had their place to transact business in, in other countries. Thus stimulated, sir Thomas purchased some tenements on the site of the Royal Exchange; and, on June 7, 1566, laid the foundation, and in November, 1567, completed what was then

called the *Bourse*. In 1570, queen Elizabeth went in great state from her palace at Somerset-house, to make sir Thomas a visit at his own house. After dinner she went to the Bourse, visited every part, and then, by sound of trumpet, dignified it with the title of the *Royal Exchange*. All the upper part was filled then, and even to this century, with shops; on this occasion they were filled with the richest productions of the universe, to show her majesty the prosperity of the commercial parts of her dominions. I cannot learn what the expence of this noble design was, only that the annual product of the rents to his widow was 75*l.* 5*s.* I am equally unacquainted with the form of the original building, which perished in the great fire. It was re-built, in its present magnificent form, by the city and the company of mercers*, at the expence of eighty thousand pounds; which, for a considerable time, involved the undertakers in a large debt. It was completed in 1669; on Sept. 28, of that year, it was opened by the lord mayor, sir William Turner, who congratulated the merchants on the occasion. The following inscription does grateful honor to the original founder:

* Strype's Stow, i. book ii. p. 137.



Published by J. Coxhead, Holywell Street Strand, Jan^y 1843.

HOC GRESHAMII Peristyllium,
 Gentium commerciis sacrum,
 Flammis extinctum 1666,
 Augustius e cinere resurrexit 1699,
 Will^o Turnero, milite, prætore.

During the first century after its erection, the appearance of every people in the universe on their different walks, in their different dresses, was a most wonderful spectacle. At present it is lost by the dull and undistinguishing uniformity of habit.

The statue of sir Thomas Gresham is in one corner, in the dress of the times. Another, of that worthy citizen sir John Barnard, graces another part. Never did patriot appear within these walls in a less questionable shape. I am informed, that, after this honor was paid to him, he never more appeared on the Royal Exchange. The rest are kings, which (as far as king Charles), with that of sir Thomas, were chiefly executed by Gabriel Cibber; that of Charles II. in the centre, was undertaken by Gibbons*, but done by Quillin, of Antwerp. And above stairs are the statues of Charles I. and II. and another of the illustrious founder, by John

* Anecdotes of Painting, iii, 136.

Bushnell, an artist of inferior merit, in the reign of William III. On the top of the tower, in front of the exchange, is a grasshopper, the crest of sir Thomas Gresham. The allusion to that, and the dragon on Bow steeple, makes a line in that inexcusable performance of Dean Swift's, a profane imitation of the style of the Bible*, which dulness itself could execute, and which nothing but the most indefensible wantonness could have produced from a person of his profession, and of his all-acknowledged wit.

I must direct the reader's attention to the beautiful Gothic tower of St. Michael's, on the south side of Cornhill. At each corner is an angulated turret as high as the belfry, where they become fluted, and the capital ornamented with sculptures of human faces; from them they spire into very elegant pinnacles. The body of this church was burnt in the great fire. It was begun to be built in 1421†; but the church was of far greater antiquity. It appears to have existed in 1133. This church had its pulpit-cross, like that of St. Paul's, built by sir John Rudstone, mayor in 1528,

* Wonderful Prophecy, &c. † Stow's Survaie, i. 369.

who was interred in a vault beneath in 1531. It may be added, that Robert Fabian, alderman, the celebrated historian, was buried in this church, in 1511, after passing the dignity of sheriff.

The king had a royal residence in this street, which was afterwards converted into a noted tavern, called the *Pope's Head*. It was a vast house, and, in the time of Stow, distinguished by the arms of England, at that time three leopards *passant*, *guardant*, and two angels the supporters, cut on stone*.

At the end of Cornhill is, as it were, a continuation of the street, by the name of that of *Leadenhall*. It takes its name from a large plain building, inhabited about the year 1309, by sir Hugh Nevil, knight; in 1384 belonging to Humphry Bohun, earl of Hereford. In 1408 it became the property of the munificent Whittington, who presented it to the mayor and commonalty of London. In 1419, sir Simon Eyre, citizen and draper, erected here a public granary, built with stone in its present form. This was to be what the French call a *grenier d'abondance*, to be always filled

* Stow's *Survaie*, 374.

with corn, and designed as a preservative against famine. The intent was happily answered in distressful seasons. This and other of the city granaries seem at first to have been under the care of the mayors; but in Henry VIII.'s time, regular surveyors were appointed. He also built a chapel within the square; this he intended to apply to the uses of a foundation for a warden, six secular priests, six clerks, and two choristers, and besides, three schoolmasters. For this purpose he left three thousand marks to the drapers company to fulfil his intent. This was never executed; but in 1466 a fraternity of sixty priests, some of whom were to perform divine service every market-day, to such who frequented the market, was founded by three priests, William Rouse, John Risby, and Thomas Ashby*.

Leadenhall-street had the good fortune to escape tolerably well in the great fire. The house was used for many other purposes; for the keeping the artillery and other arms of the city. Preparations for any triumph or pageantry in the city were made here. From its strength it was considered as the chief fortress

* Tanner.



The East India House.

Published by J. Cadell and W. Phillips, Strand, opposite Turner's Gallery.

within the city, in case of popular tumults ; and also as the place from which doles, largesses, or pious alms, were to be distributed. Here, in 1546, while Henry VIII. lay putrefying in state, Heath bishop of Winchester, his almoner, and others his ministers, distributed great sums of money, during twelve days, to the poor of the city. The same was done at Westminster* ; but I greatly fear his majesty was past ransom ! The market here was of great antiquity : considerable as it is at present, it is far inferior to what it has been, by reason of the numbers of other markets which have been established. Still it is the wonder of foreigners, who do not duly consider the carnivorous nation to which it belongs.

The slaughter made of the horned cattle, for the support of the metropolis, is evinced by the multitudes of tanned hides exposed to sale in the great court of Leadenhall, which is the present market for that article.

The *India-house* stands a little farther to the east, but is not worthy of the lords of Indostan. This was built in 1726, on the spot once occupied by sir William Craven, mayor in 1610;

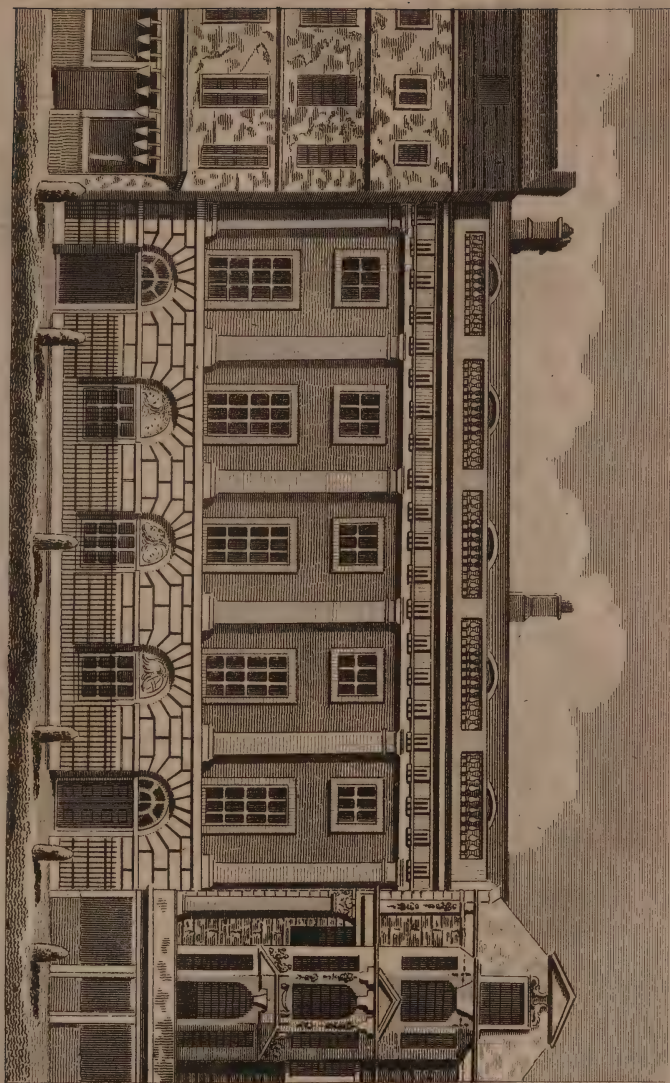
* Strype's Stow, i. book ii. p. 84, 86.

a man of most extensive charity. His house was very large, the apartments capacious, and fit for any public concern*. The African-house stood in this street, east of Billeter-lane end. It had been the mansion of sir Nicholas Throgmorton.

In the church of *St. Catherine Cree*, in this street, is supposed to have been interred the celebrated Holbein, who died of the plague in 1554, at the duke of Norfolk's, in the priory of Christ-church, near Aldgate. I must also mention it on another account, for its being the stage on which the imprudent, well-meaning Laud, acted a most superstitious part in its consecration, on January 16, 1630-31. His whole conduct tended to add new force to the discontents and rage of the times: he attempted innovations in the ceremonies of the church, at a season he ought at least to have left them in the state he found them: instead of that, he pushed things to extremities, by that, and by his fierce persecutions of his opponents; from which he never desisted till he brought destruction on himself, and highly contributed to that of his royal master.

* Strype's Stow, i. book ii. 88.

The Court India House in its former State?



Prynne, whom every one must allow to have had sufficient cause of resentment against the archbishop, gives the relation with much acrimony, and much prophane humor*:

(As first), “ When the bishop approached
 “ near the communion table, he bowed with
 “ his nose very near the ground some six or
 “ seven times; then he came to one of the corners of the table, and there bowed himself
 “ three times; then to the second, third, and
 “ fourth corners, bowing at each corner three
 “ times; but when he came to the side of the
 “ table where the bread and wine was, he
 “ bowed himself seven times: and then, after
 “ the reading many praiers by himselfe and his
 “ two fat chaplins, (which were with him,
 “ and all this while were upon their knees by
 “ him, in their sirplisses, hoods, and tippits),
 “ he himself came neare the bread, which was
 “ cut and laid in a fine napkin, and then he
 “ gently lifted up one of the corners of the said
 “ napkin, and peeping into it till he saw the
 “ bread, (like a boy that peeped into a bird’s
 “ nest in a bush), and presently clapped it
 “ down againe, and flew back a step or two,
 “ and then bowed very low three times to-

* In his *Canterbury’s Doom*, book ii. p. 113.

“wards it and the table. When he beheld
 “the bread, then he came near and opened
 “the napkin againe, and bowed as before;
 “then he laid his hand upon the gilt cup,
 “which was full of wine, with a cover upon
 “it; so soon as he had pulled the cupp a
 “little neerer to him, he lett the cupp goe,
 “flew backe, and bowed againe three times
 “towards it; then hee came neere againe, and
 “lifting up the cover of the cupp, peeped into
 “it; and seeing the wine, he let fall the cover
 “on it againe, and flew nimble backe, and
 “bowed as before. After these, and many
 “other apish, anticke gestures, he himselfe re-
 “ceived, and then gave the sacrament to some
 “principal men onely, they devoutly kneel-
 “ing neere the table; after which, more praiers
 “being said, this scene and interlude ended.”

To the west of St. Catherine Cree, in the
 same street, stands the church of *St. Andrew*
Undershaft, from the unfortunate shaft, or
maypole, which on May 1st, 1517, gave rise to
 the insurrection of the apprentices, and the
 plundering of the foreigners in the city, whence
 it got the name of *Evil May-day**. From
 that time it was hung on a range of hooks over

* Herbert's Henry VIII. 67. Stow's Survaie, 153.

the doors of a long row of neighbouring houses. In the third of Edward VI. when the plague of fanaticism began to scandalize the promoters of the Reformed religion, an ignorant wretch, called sir Stephen, curate of St. Catherine Cree, began to preach against this *maypole* (notwithstanding it had hung in peace ever since the *Evil May-day*), as an idol, by naming the church St. Andrew, with the addition of Shaft. This inflamed his audience so greatly, that, after eating a hearty dinner to strengthen themselves, every owner of such house over which the shaft hung, with assistance of others, sawed off as much of it as hung over his premises: each took his share, and committed to the flames the tremendous idol. This sir Stephen, scorning the use of the sober pulpit, sometimes mounted on a tomb, with his back to the altar, to pour out his nonsensical rhapsodies; at other times, he climbed into a lofty elm in the church-yard, and, bestriding a bough, delivered out his cant with double effect, merely by reason of the novelty of the situation*.

In the church of St. Andrew Undershaft was

* Stow's *Survaie*, 282, 283.

interred the faithful and able historian of the city, John Stow. He died in 1605, aged 80; and, to the shame of his time, in much poverty. His monument is still in being, a well-executed figure, sitting at a desk, in a furred gown, and writing. The figure is said to be made of *terra cotta*, or burnt earth, painted; a common practice in those days: possibly somewhat similar to the artificial stone of our time.

In *Lime-street*, the northern end of which opens into that of Leadenhall, stood the house and chapel of the lord Nevil; and after him, of the accomplished sir Simon de Burley, and of his brother sir John. In the time of Stow, it was partly taken down, and new fronted with timber, by Hugh Ofley, alderman. Finally, not far from hence, towards the end of the adjacent street of St. Mary-Ax, stood the mansion of Richard Vere, earl of Oxford, who inhabited it in the beginning of the reign of Henry V.; and, drawn from thence in his old age to attend his valiant master to the French wars, died in France in 1415*. It was afterwards sir Robert Wingfield's, who sold it to sir Edward Coke.

In this street stood, in the reign of Edward I.

* Survaie, 312.—Collins's Coll. Noble Families, 247—8.





The Banks.
London, Engraved by J. Calkins, Del. by J. Calkins, Sculp. by J. Calkins.

a house called the *King's Artiree*, where now is Queen's-square-passage.

In the same street, also, was the house of the noble family of Bassets, a large pile with several courts and gardens, which afterwards became the property of the abbot of Bury, and was called Bury's Mark.

The second street which opens into Cheapside, or rather the Poultry, is *Threadneedle*, or more properly *Three-needle Street*. That noble building, the *Bank of England*, fills one side of the space. The center, and the building behind, were founded in the year 1733; the architect, George Sampson. Before that time the business was carried on in grocers'-hall. The front is a sort of vestibule; the base rustic, the ornamental columns above, Ionic. Within is a court leading to a second elegant building, which contains a hall and offices, where the debt of above two hundred and fifty millions is punctually discharged. Of late years two wings of uncommon elegance, designed by sir Robert Taylor, have been added, at the expence of a few houses, and of the church of *St. Christopher's le Stocks*. The demolition of the last occasioned as much injury to the memorials of the dead, and disturbance of their poor ashes, as ever the impiety of the fanatics

did in the last century. Much of my kindred dust* was violated; among others, those of the Houblon family, sprung from Peter Houblon, of a respectable house at Lisle in Flanders, driven to seek refuge in England from the rage of persecution under the Duc d'Alva, in the reign of queen Elizabeth. About the same time fled to our sanctuary John Houblon and Guillaume Lethieulier. The first is found to have lent, *i. e.* given, to her majesty, in the perilous year 1588, a hundred pounds†. His son James flourished in wealth and reputation, and was eminent for his plainness and piety. He was buried in the church of St. Mary Woolnoth; but, wanting a monument, the following epitaph was composed for him by Samuël Pepys, esq. secretary to the admiralty in the reigns of Charles II. and James II.:

JACOBUS HOUBLON,
 LONDINAS PETRI filius,
 Ob fidem Flandria exulantis:
 Ex C. Nepotibus habuit LXX superstites:
 Filios V. videns mercatores florentissimos;
 Ipse LONDINENSIS Bursæ Pater;
 Piissimè obiit Nonagenarius,
 A° D. CIOIOCLXXXII.

* Strype's Annals, ii. 517.

† The loan from the city was only 4900*l*.

His sons, sir John Houblon, and sir James Houblon, knights, and aldermen, rose to great wealth. From the last sprung the respectable family of the Houblons of Hallingbury, in Essex. Sir James represented his native city. Sir John, my great grandfather by my mother's side, left six daughters: Arrabella, the eldest, married to Richard Mytton, esq. of Halston, my maternal grandfather; the second to Mr. Denny, a respectable merchant in the city; the four younger died unmarried. Sir John Houblon was of the grocers' company, was elected alderman of Cornhill-ward, September 17th, 1689; and lord mayor, September 29th, 1695. He was interred in this church January 18th, 1711-12. He was at the same time lord mayor of London, a lord of the admiralty, and the first governor of the bank of England. His mansion stood on the site of the house; the noblest monument he could have.

It would be injustice not to give the name of the projector of that national glory, the Bank of England. It was the happy thought of Mr. James Paterson, of the kingdom of Scotland. This palladium of our country was, in 1780, saved from the fury of an infamous mob by the virtue of its citizens, who formed suddenly a

volunteer company, and over-awed the miscreants; while the chief magistrate skulked trembling in his Mansion-house, and left his important charge to its fate. I cannot wonder at the timidity of a peaceful magistrate, when the principle of self-preservation appeared so strong in the ministry of the day. It was the spirit of majesty itself that first dictated the means of putting a stop to the outrages; which, if exerted at first by its servants, would have been true mercy!

At the extremity of Threadneedle-street, appears the origin of its name, *Merchant-Taylors hall*; at the period in which they were called *Taylors*, and *Linen-armourers*, under which title they were incorporated in the year 1480; and by Henry VII. by that of the men of the art and mystery of *Merchant-taylors*, of the fraternity of St. John the Baptist. They were seventh in the rank of the great companies. Multitudes of eminent men were emulous of being admitted into it: seven kings, one queen, seventeen princes and dukes, two dutchesses, one archbishop, one and thirty earls, five countesses, one viscount, twenty-four bishops, sixty-six barons, two ladies, seven abbots, seven priors, and one sub-prior, besides squires in-

numerable, graced the long roll of freemen of this company*.

Among the pictures in this hall, or its different apartments, is one of Henry VII. presenting the charter of incorporation to the company. This was painted and presented by Mr. Nathaniel Clarkson, of Islington, a member of the court of assistants. The king is attended by William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, and lord high chancellor of England. He went through the various offices, now allotted to laymen, with great abilities; was appointed master of the rolls in 1486; keeper of the great seal in 1502; and lord chancellor in 1503; and in the following year was advanced to the see of Canterbury. He was in high favour with Henry VII.; but on the accession of Henry VIII. was soon supplanted by Wolsey, and experienced his greatest insolence. The good primate enjoyed his dignity near twenty-eight years, with great munificence and honour; and died in 1532†.

Next is the portrait of Richard Fox, bishop of Winchester, an able statesman, greatly employed by Henry VII. at home and abroad;

* Strype's Stow, i. † Illustrious Heads, i. p. and tab. vii.

and continued for some time favoured by his son. He first introduced Wolsey to court: but soon experienced his ingratitude. Unable to bear his insolence, he, like Warham, retired from business. In his old age, when struck with blindness, the cardinal meanly hoped to prevail on him to resign his bishoprick, to which the good prelate returned a spirited reply. He lived to a great age, and died in 1528, after worthily governing the see twenty-seven years. Another of Henry's courtiers is on his left hand; Willoughby lord Brooke, steward of the household, with his white wand: and in the fore-ground, the clerk exhibiting a roll of the list of the royal freemen of the company.

For the many good deeds of sir Thomas Row, merchant-taylor, his portrait must not be passed by. He is dressed in a bonnet, ruff, and red gown. He first established a substantial standing watch in the city, when he was lord mayor, in 1569. He built a convenient room, near St. Paul's Cross, for a certain number of the auditors to hear the preacher at their ease. He inclosed a piece of ground near Bethlem, for the burial-place of such parishes that wanted church-yards: besides numberless acts of charity, which rendered his memory sweet to pos-

terity. He was buried in Hackney, September 2d, 1570; and has an epitaph in verse, quite in the simple style of the times*.

The portrait of the illustrious sir Thomas White, honours this hall, dressed in a red gown. He was of this fraternity, but possibly not of the profession; for numbers of opulent merchants listed under the banners of the company. It was far from being confined to the trade. No one of his time rivalled him in love of literature, charity, and true piety. In the glorious roll of charities, belonging to this company, he appears with distinguished credit. I refer to that for his good deeds, and those of his brethren*. Sir Thomas bought the Benedictine college at Oxford, then called Gloucester-hall†, and founded it by that name. It has since been advanced into a college, by the name of Worcester. He was the sole founder of St. John's college§, on whom he bestowed his hall. He was discontented till he could find a place with

* The epitaph calls him a Merchant-venturer.--Strype's Stow, ii. app. 127.—See more in vol. i. book i. 237, 264—vol. ii. book v. 135—and Stow's Survaie, 319.

† Strype's Stow, i. book i. 263.—ii. b. v. 62, 63.

‡ Tanner's Monast. Oxford.

§ Wood's Hist. Oxford, lib. ii. 302.

two elms growing together, near which he might found this seat of learning. He met with his wish, and accomplished the great design. Within my memory, majestic elms graced the street before this college, and the neighbouring. The scene was truly academic, walks worthy of the contemplative schools of ancient days. But alas! in the midst of numberless modern elegancies, in this single instance,

Some Dæmon whisper'd, OXFORD, have a taste;

And by the magic line, every venerable tree fell prostrate. I refer, as above, to the list of the noble charities of this good man. He was born at Woodoakes, in Hertfordshire; entered on the reward of his excellent deeds in 1566, aged 72; and met with an honourable tomb within the walls of his great foundation*. This magnificent foundation of his, was intended for the reception of the scholars brought up in Merchant-taylors' school: there being forty-six fellowships designed for the elites of that school, which was founded by that com-

* Wood's Hist. Oxford, lib. ii. 314.

pany, in 1561. It is a handsome plain building, in Suffolk-lane, Thames-street, endowed in the most ample manner: about three hundred boys are instructed there, of which one hundred are at the expence of the company; among them many who have risen to the highest dignities in the church. It was first kept in a house belonging to the Staffords, dukes of Buckingham, called the *Manor of the Rose*. It was bought by this respectable company*: Richard Hill, then master of the company, contributed five hundred pounds. The house being destroyed in the great fire, the present buildings were erected on its site.

This company, it is said, have upwards of three thousand pounds a-year to dispose of in charity, the bequest of several pious members of this respectable fraternity.

I now descend to emperors, and other lesser characters. A portrait of Charles V. is found here; another of a lord Willoughby, with a white rod; and a picture of Henry VII. presenting them with the letters patent of their incorporation; the painter Clarkson; who the artist was, or when he lived, I am ignorant.

* Strype's Memor. iii. 142.

Let me enumerate the men of valour, and of literature, who have practised the original profession of this company. Sir John Hawkwood, usually styled Joannes Acutus, from the sharpness of his sword, or his needle, leads the van. The arch Fuller says, he turned his needle into a sword, and his thimble into a shield. He was born in the parish of Hedingham Sibil, in Essex, the son of a tanner, and in due time was bound apprentice to a taylor in this city; was pressed for a soldier, and by his spirit rose to the highest commands in foreign parts. He first served under Edward III. and received from that monarch the honour of knighthood. By the extraordinary proofs of valour he showed at the battle of Poitiers, he gained the esteem of his heroic general the Black Prince. On the peace between England and France, he, with several other English soldiers of fortune, associated himself with those brave *banditti*, known by the name of *les grandes compagnies*, *Tard-Venus*, and *Malendrins*. After carrying terror through certain parts of France by their dreadful ravages, he persuaded five thousand horsemen, and about fifteen hundred foot, mostly English, to follow him to assist the marquis of Monserrat, against Galeazzo, duke of Milan,

After performing the most signal services for the marquis, he deserted him for the duke of Milan; and was equally successful under his new master: and was rewarded by being married to Domitia, natural daughter to Barnabas, brother to the duke, with whom he received a great fortune. By her he had a son named John, born in Italy; who was naturalized in 1406, in the reign of Henry IV*. Notwithstanding this, he quitted the service of the Milanese, and drew his sword in the cause of their enemies the Florentines. He fought against the Pisans for the Florentines, and for the Pisans against the Florentines: but victory attended him on whichsoever side he took. For a time he enlisted under the pope Gregory XII. and recovered for his holiness the revolted places in Provence. I find him also employed, in 1388, by Edward III. on the cruel service of extirpating the heretics in Provence, and Forqualquier†. I have little doubt but that his sword, devoted to every call, performed its part to the satisfaction of his employer.

His native place, Hedingham, thought itself so honoured by producing so great a man, that,

* Rymer's *Fœdera*, viii. 457. † The same, vii. 569.

by the assistance of his friends and executors, it erected to his memory, in the parish church, a monument, which I believe still exists; for Mr. Morant speaks of his effigies, and that of two females lying by him; from which it may be supposed he was twice married. As he probably had no other arms than the needle and thimble, on the Florentine monument is given on his shield, the device of *Hawkes flying through a wood*. He died, full of years and glory, at Florence, in 1394; where his figure, on horseback, painted *al fresco* on the walls of the cathedral, by the celebrated Paolo Uccelli, is still to be seen: beneath' is this inscription: "JOHANNES ACUTUS, eques Britannicus, ætatis suæ cautissimus et rei militaris peritissimus, habitus est. PAULI UCCELLI OPUS *."—It is engraven among the works of the Society of Antiquaries, with the date of 1436, which probably refers to the death of the artist; and was a posthumous addition.

Sir Ralph Blackwall was said to be his fellow-apprentice, and to have been knighted for his valour by Edward III. But he followed

* Misson's Travels, iii. 286, 302.

his trade, married his master's daughter, and, as we have said before, founded the hall which bears his name*.

General Elliot's regiment of light horse, raised in our days, was formed out of the choice spirits of the trade, and performed prodigies of valour, worthy of their predecessor in arms, the great Johannes Acutus.

John Speed was a Cheshire taylor, and free of this company. His merit as a British historian and antiquary is indisputable. The plans he has left us (now invaluable) of our ancient castles, and of our cities, show equal skill and industry. Nor must we be silent of his geographical labors, which, considering the confined knowledge of the times, are far from being despicable.

The famous London antiquary John Stow, born in London about the year 1525, ought to have the lead among those of our capital: he likewise was a taylor. There is not one who has followed him with equal steps, or who is not obliged to his black letter labors. In his industrious and long life (for he lived till the year 1605) he made vast collections, as well

* See Grainger, i. 59, 61, for both these articles.

for the history and topography of his native city, as for the history of England. Numbers of facts, in the interesting period in which he lived, he speaks of from his own knowledge; or of earlier matters, from books long since lost. Multitudes of the houses of our ancient nobility, existing in his time, are mentioned by him, and many of them in the most despicable parts of the town.

The late Benjamin Robins was the son of a taylor at Bath. He united the powers of the sword and the pen. His knowledge in tactics was equal to that of any person of his age: and by his compilation of lord Anson's voyage, he proved himself not inferior in elegance of style.

Robert Hill, taylor of Buckingham, was the first Hebræan of his time: a knowledge acquired in the most pressing poverty; and the cares of his profession, to maintain (for a most excellent man he was) his large family. The reverend Mr. Spence did not think it beneath him to write his life, and point him out to the public as a meritorious object of charity; and to form a parallel between him and the celebrated Magliabecchi, librarian to the great duke of Tuscany*.

* This little tract was written in 1757; and is reprinted

It was one of this meek profession, actuated by the religion of meekness, who first suggested the pious project of abolishing the slave trade. Thomas Woolman, a quaker, and taylor, of New Jersey, was first struck with the thought, that engaging in the traffic of the human species was incompatible with the spirit of the Christian religion. He published many tracts against this unhappy species of commerce: he argued against it in public and private: he made long journies for the sake of talking to individuals on the subject; and was careful, himself, not to countenance slavery, by the use of those conveniences which were provided by the labor of slaves. In the course of a visit to England, he went to York, 1772; in the same year sickened of the small-pox, and died October 7th, in sure and certain hopes of that reward which Heaven will bestow on the sincere philanthropist.

In this street also stands the *South-Sea House*, the place in which the company did business, when it had any to transact. It was first established in 1711, for the purpose of an exclusive

among the Fugitive Pieces, in the 2d volume. Hill was born in 1699.

trade to the South-Seas; and for the supplying Spanish America with negroes. In the year 1720, by the villany of the directors, it became the most notorious bubble ever heard of in any kingdom. Imaginary fortunes of millions were grasped at: a luxury introduced as great as if these schemes had been realized. At length the deception was discovered, and the iniquitous contrivers detected and brought to punishment; many with infamy, by being expelled the house*; others suffered in their purses†, but none in a manner adequate to their crimes, which brought utter ruin on thousands.

Among the multitude of bubbles, which knaves, encouraged by the folly of the times, were encouraged to set up, were the following most laughable:

Insurance against divorces.

A scheme to learn men to cast nativities.

Making deal-boards of saw-dust.

Making butter from beech trees.

A flying engine, (now exemplified in balloons.)

* Proceedings of the house of commons, &c. vi. 231, 236.

† The same, vi. 251.

A sweet way of emptying necessities.

I return through Threadneedle-street into the Broad-street. In Throgmorton-street, near its junction with Broad-street, stands *Drapers' Hall*. Thomas Cromwel, earl of Essex, built a magnificent house on its site: he showed very little scruples in invading the rights of his neighbours to enlarge his domain. Stow mentions his own father as a sufferer; for the earl arbitrarily loosened from its place a house which stood in Stow's garden, placed it on rollers, and had it carried twenty-two feet farther off, without giving the least notice: and no one dared to complain*. The manner of removing this house, shows what miserable tenements a certain rank of people had, which could, like the houses in Moscow, be so easily conveyed from place to place. After Cromwel's fall, the house and gardens were bought by the drapers' company. The house was destroyed in the great fire, but re-built, for the use of their company, in a magnificent manner. This was the farthest limits of the fire northward, as Allhallows church, in Fenchurch-street, was to the east.

* Survaie, 342.

In the hall, a very elegant room, is a portrait of the first mayor of London, Fitz-alwin, a half length. I need not say a fictitious likeness. In his days, I doubt whether the artists equalled in any degree the worst of our modern sign-painters.

At one end of the room is a large picture of Mary Stuart, with her hand upon her son James I. a little boy in a rich vest; her dress is black, her hair light coloured. I never saw her but in dark hair; perhaps she varied her locks. This could not be drawn from the life: for she never saw her son after he was a year old. These portraits are engraven by Bartolozzi.

Portraits of sir Joseph Sheldon, mayor in 1677, and of sir Robert Clayton, mayor in 1680. Sir Robert was well deserving of this public proof of esteem: a great benefactor to Christ-church hospital, and again to that of St. Thomas in Southwark. He is finely painted, seated in a chair.

The drapers were incorporated in 1430. The art of weaving woollen cloth was only introduced in 1360, by the Dutch and Flemings; but, as it was long permitted to export our wool, and receive it again manufactured into

cloth, the cloth trade made little progress in England till the reign of queen Elizabeth*, who may be said to have been the foundress of the wealthy loom, as of many other good things in this kingdom.

On the west side of the adjacent Broad-street stood the house of the *Augustines*, founded in 1253, by Humphry Bohun earl of Hereford, for friars heremites of that order. The church falling into ruin, was re-built by Humphry, one of his descendants, earl of Hereford, who was buried here in 1361. Numbers of persons of rank were also interred here, from the opinion of the peculiar sanctity those mendicants filled this earth with. Here lay Edmund Guy de Meric, earl of St. Paul. This nobleman was sent over by Charles VI. of France, on a complimentary visit to Richard II. and his queen. He insinuated himself so greatly into the king's favour, as to become a chief confident: inso-much that, by the advice of St. Paul, he was guilty of that violent action, the murder of his factious uncle, the duke of Glocester†. Lucie, wife of Edmund Holland, lord admiral, and one of the heirs and daughter of Barnaby lord

* Anderson, i. 406.

† Kennet, i. 275.

256 CHURCHES CONVERTED INTO WAREHOUSES.

of Milan. She left great legacies to the church, in particular to the canons of our lady de la Scala, at Milan.

Richard Fitzalan, the great earl of Arundel, beheaded in 1397 at Tower-hill; John Vere, earl of Oxford, a strong friend to the house of Lancaster, beheaded by the cruel Edward, in 1463, at the same place, with his son and several others. Numbers also of the barons who fell in Barnet-field, found here a place of interment. Edward Stafford, duke of Buckingham, victim, in 1521, to the pride of cardinal Wolsey, chose this holy ground; as did multitudes of others, recorded in the *Survaie of John Stow* *.

In the successful cruizes made by the English, in the year 1545, about three hundred French ships were taken: Henry converted the conventual churches into so many warehouses for the cargoes. This and the *Black-friars* he filled with herrings and other fish, and the *Grey-friars* were filled with wine†.

At the dissolution, great part of the house, cloisters, and gardens were granted to William lord St. John, afterwards marquis of Winches-

* P. 339.

† Holinshed, 968.

ter, and lord treasurer. On the site he built *Winchester-place*, a magnificent house, where Winchester-street now stands. The west end of the church was in 1551 granted to John a Lasco, for the use of the Germans, and other fugitive protestants, and afterwards to the Dutch as a preaching place. Part also was converted into a glass-house for Venice glass, in which Venetians were employed in every branch of this manufacture. They were patronized by the duke of Buckingham. Howel, the celebrated author of the Letters, was steward to the manufacture, but was obliged to quit his office, not being able to endure the heat. He had been at Venice in 1621*, probably to pry into the secrets of the art, and to engage workmen. This place was afterwards converted into *Pinners-hall*, or the hall of the company of pin-makers.

The other part the marquis reserved for the purpose of stowing corn, coal, and other things. His son sold the noble monuments of the dead, the paving stones, and many other materials, which had cost thousands, for a hundred pounds, and converted the building into stables for his

* Howel's Letters, 56.

horses*. The steeple was standing in the year 1600. It was so beautiful, that the mayor and several respectable citizens petitioned the marquis that it might not be pulled down; but their petition was rejected, and this fine ornament of the city demolished †.

Behind this church, close to London Wall, stood the *Papey*, a fraternity of St. Charity and St. John the Evangelist, for papeys, or poor infirm priests, founded in 1430 by certain chauntry priests. It was a numerous society, designed to relieve any of its members, who by lameness or illness were reduced to distress or poverty, whether they were brothers or sisters. The church of St. Augustine Papey belonged to this fraternity. These priests, the brotherhood of threescore priests of Leadenhall, and the company of parish-clerks, who were skilled in singing diriges and funeral office, were accustomed to attend the solemn burials of the rich or great. An instance is given, in 1543, of their attending the funeral of dame Jane Milbourn, widow of sir John Milbourn, for which ten shillings was bestowed on them by the will of the deceased ‡. This house became,

* Kennet, i. 336, 337. † Strype's Stow, i. book ii. p. 114.

‡ Maitland's Hist. London, ii. 781. Edward Pennant, esq.

after the suppression, the habitation of sir Francis Walsingham.

In Winchester-street stood also a great house, called the Spanish ambassador's, which was occupied by sir James Houblon, knight and alderman: and at the same period it was the residence of several of our most eminent merchants.

To the east side of the same street, stood the house of our first of merchants, sir Thomas Gresham; originally built with brick and timber, and fronting to Bishopsgate-street. By his will he appointed four lecturers in divinity, astronomy, music, and geometry, and three readers in civil law, physic, and rhetoric, each with a salary of fifty pounds a-year, payable out of the rent issuing out of the Royal Exchange. This house was the place where the professors had their apartments, and where the lectures were to be read; which were begun in 1597, but they are now quite deserted. This arose in a great degree from the institution of

late of Bagilt, in Flintshire, was in March 1778 buried at Marseilles, attended by a long procession of monks. He was buried by one of the poorer orders, who had the perquisite of furnishing funerals like our undertakers. This funeral was rather grand, but remarkably cheap.

the *Royal Society*: the meetings of which were for a considerable time held here.

The origin of that respectable body was from the meeting of a few illustrious persons at the lodgings of doctor Wilkins, afterwards bishop of Chester, and others worthy of record, doctor Seth Ward, afterwards bishop of Salisbury, Mr. Boyle, sir William Petty, and the doctors Wallis, Goddard, Willis, and Bathurst, sir Christopher Wren, and a few more. In 1658, they assembled in Gresham college, by permission of the professors of the foundation of sir Thomas Gresham; and on the Restoration were incorporated by royal charter. A most instructive and well-founded Museum was established here in 1677, by Henry Colwall, consisting of natural and artificial curiosities, collected with great expence and judgment. The society had a benefit never known at any other time, the assistance of the great Mr. Boyle, the most accomplished, most learned, and most religious virtuoso, who pointed out the proper objects of their collection, and gave them the most finished instructions* for pro-

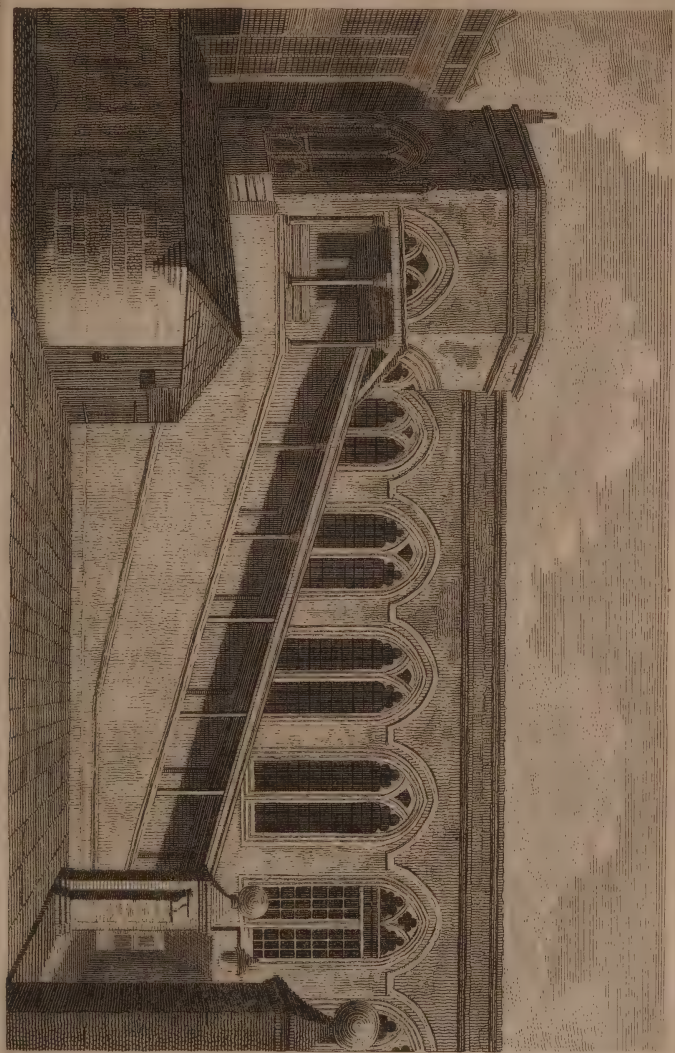
* These were collected and published in 1692. This little book is a most necessary companion for all travellers and voyagers.

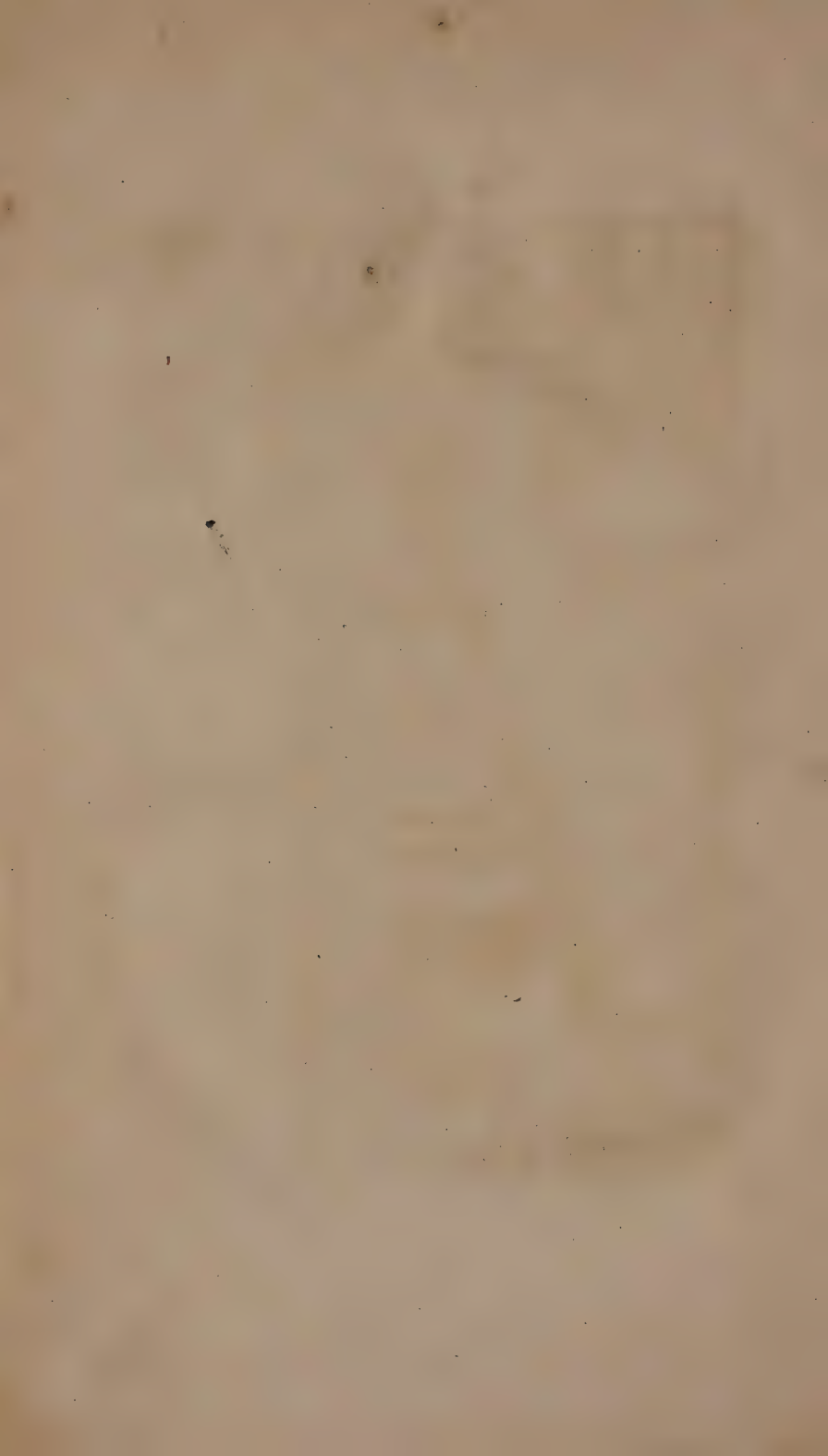
curing them from every quarter of the globe. At that period there were, in both the Indies, persons capable of understanding, and pursuing with success, the plan laid down for them at home. It was the good fortune of the Museum to have, co-existent with its formation, a philosopher for its curator, fully qualified to describe its various articles. Doctor Nehemiah Grew not only performed that part, but illustrated every one, in cases where the subject admitted, with the most learned and pertinent remarks. He published his *Museum Regalis Societatis* in 1681, and dedicated it to the founder, Mr. Colwall, at the expence of whom the plates were engraven. It is a work equal to the Museum Wormianum, and any other admired foreign performance of that age. Its defects arise only from the want of system, the misfortune of the time: for our Ray had not then cleared the rich ore of natural history from the surrounding rubbish. About the year 1711, the Society removed from hence to Crane-court in Fleet-street. For numbers of years the Museum was neglected. My respected friend, the honorable Daines Barrington, with most disinterested zeal, undertook the restoring it, as far as the ravages of time would

permit. This he did in the most effectual manner; and enriched it with a number of new specimens, especially from our late colonies: it being his design to have formed it into a repository of every thing relative to the natural history of Great Britain and its dependencies: a most noble plan, and worthy of being carried into full execution. By singular chance, Gresham college escaped the flames in 1666; but I believe very little of the original house remains: it having been mostly re-built in 1601, possibly after the original design; the arcades being adapted for the reception of the numbers of commercial and other followers of so universal a merchant as sir Thomas Gresham.

This college has been pulled down within my memory; and the *Excise-office*, a building of most magnificent simplicity, has rose in its place. The payment into this office, from the 5th of January, 1786, to the 5th of January, 1787, was not less than five millions, five hundred and thirty-one thousand, one hundred and fourteen pounds, six shillings and ten pence halfpenny. Happy for us that our wealth keeps pace with our luxury!

The house known by the name of *Crosbie-house*, stood on the opposite side of Bishops-





gate-street, and was another magnificent structure, built by sir John Crosbie, sheriff in 1470, on ground leased to him by Alice Ashfield, prioress of St. Helen's. In this house Richard duke of Glocester lodged* after he had conveyed his nephews to the Tower, and was meditating the destruction of the poor innocents. The hall, miscalled Richard III.'s chapel, is still very entire; a beautiful Gothic building, with a bow-window on one side; the roof is timber, and much to be admired. At present, this magnificent room is occupied by a packer.

Henry VIII. made a grant of it to Anthonio Bonvica, a rich Italian merchant†. Henry was a great favorer of the merchants of this nation, for the sake of the “magnificent silks, “velvets, tissues of gold, jewels, and other “luxuries, (as he expresses it) for the pleasure of us, and of our dearest wyeff, the “quene‡.” In the reign of Elizabeth, it seems appropriated to foreign ambassadors: here was lodged the ambassador of France, and again the ambassador of Denmark§. The site of this house is still known by the name of *Crosbie-square*.

* Fabian, book vii. 514. † Stow, ii. book ii. 106.

‡ Rymer's Fœd. xv. 105. § Stow's Survaie, 332.

The house of that great merchant sir Paul Pindar stands in this street: it is easily known by the bow, and vast extent of windows along the front. Sir Paul was early distinguished by that frequent cause of promotion, the knowledge of languages. He was put apprentice to an Italian master, travelled much, and was appointed ambassador to the Grand Signor by James I.; in which office he gained great credit, by extending the English commerce in the Turkish dominions. He brought over with him a diamond valued at 30,000*l.*; the king wished to buy it on credit, but this the sensible merchant declined: but favoured his majesty with the loan on gala days: his unfortunate son became the purchaser. Sir Paul was appointed farmer of the customs by James; and frequently supplied that monarch's wants, as well as those of his successor. He was esteemed at one time worth 236,000*l.* exclusive of bad debts, in the year 1639. His charities were very great: he expended nineteen thousand pounds in the repairs of St. Paul's cathedral*. He was ruined by his connections with his unfortunate monarch; and, if I remember right, underwent imprisonment for debt. It is said

* Whitelock, p. 17.

that Charles owed him, and the rest of the old commissioners of the customs, 300,000*l.*; for the security of which, in 1649, they offered the parliament 100,000*l.*; but the proposal was rejected *. He died August 22, 1650, aged 84. He left his affairs in such a perplexed state, that his executor, William Toomes, unable to bear the disappointment, destroyed himself; and most deservedly underwent the ignominy of the now, almost obsolete verdict of *felo de se*.

Helena, the mother of Constantine the Great, and a canonized saint, had, a little to the east of Crosbie-square, a church dedicated to her in very early times. In 1210, a priory of Benedictine nuns was founded by a goldsmith, William Fitz-William, dedicated to the Holy Cross, and its inventress Helena, the *piissima et venerabilis* AUGUSTA. Its revenues, according to Dugdale, were 31*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* Henry granted the site to Mr. Richard Cromwell, alias Williams; and on the nuns hall was built the *Leather-sellers' Hall*. This company was incorporated in the reign of Richard II. They

* Whitelock, p. 410.—In the Gentleman's Magazine for June 1787, is an ample account of sir Paul Pindar; and in the European for April 1787, his character, with a view of his house.

flourished greatly, in particular, in the time of queen Elizabeth, when they had considerable commerce in skins from Barbary and Russia, and made great profits from the exportation of the manufactured leather.

North-east of Threadneedle-street, stands the ancient church known by the name of *St. Helen's the Great*; in it are numbers of curious tombs: they fortunately escaped the ravages of the great fire. That of the great benefactor to the city, sir Thomas Gresham, claims the first notice: it is altar-fashioned, with a black slab on the top; the sides fluted, and of coloured marble. So great a name wanted not the proclamation of an epitaph, so it is entirely without inscription.

A most magnificent tomb of sir William Pickering, who died in London, at Pickering-house, in 1574, aged 58. He lies recumbent, in rich gilt and painted armour, small ruff, short hair, trunk breeches; the mat he rests on is finely cut. He had served four princes: Henry VIII. in the field; Edward VI. as ambassador to France; queen Mary, in Germany; and finally, queen Elizabeth. “Elizabeth, (says his epitaph) *principi omnium illustrissimæ summis officiis devotissimus.*”

He is said to have aspired at the possession of her person*. Strype says that he was the finest gentleman of the age, for his worth in learning, arts, and warfare†.

A tomb of William Bond, who died in 1576, a merchant adventurer, and the most famous of his age for voyages by land and sea. He, his wife, and seven children, are represented kneeling. The lady is distinguished by her vast sleeves.

Their son Martin took a military turn: he was captain in the camp at Tilbury in 1588, and chief captain in the train-bands till his death. He is represented in armour, in his tent; soldiers are seen on the outside, and his servant waiting with his horse.

I omit many splendid monuments, which record that the possessors were good men and good citizens. That of sir Julius Adelmar Cesar, who died a superannuated master of the Rolls in 1636, is very singular. His epitaph is cut on a black slab in form of a piece of parchment with a seal appendant, by which he gives his bond to Heaven, to resign his life willingly whenever it should please God to call him.

* Kennet's Hist. ii. 383.

† Annals, ii. 357.

In cujus rei testimonium manum meam et sigillum apposui.

In a plain square mausoleum, is lodged the embalmed corpse of Richard Bancroft, placed in a chest with a lid fastened only with hinges, and over the face is a glass pane. This Bancroft is said to have been one of the lord mayor's officers, and a very rapacious person. To make atonement for his past life, he left his ill-gotten riches in trust to found and maintain an almshouse and school, and to keep the monument in repair. He left twenty shillings to the minister to preach annually a commemoration-sermon*. The almsmen and scholars attended, and his body was brought out for public inspection. But I think that this custom, as well as the sermon, have been of late years laid aside.

Here is also another tomb, to commemorate sir John Crosbie and his spouse: it is of an altar form; on it lie recumbent two alabaster figures, one of a beardless man, with his hair cut short and round; over his shoulders is a robe, a fine collar round his neck, his body armed, and a griffin at his feet. By him lies his lady. Sir John had been a great benefac-

* Northouk's Hist. of London, 557.

tor to the city. He left five hundred marks to repair this church : his arms were expressed on the timber roof, stone-work, and glass. Towards the repair of London Wall, he gave a hundred pounds ; and another towards building a stone tower on London bridge : to the wardens of Grocers'-hall, two large silver chased halfgilt pots, weighing thirteen pounds five ounces, troy weight, to be used in the common hall : and to all the prisons in a most liberal manner*.

I now visit the third street which branches from the Poultry, that which took its name from the Lombards, the great money-changers and usurers of early times. They came out of Italy into our kingdom before the year 1274† at length their extortions became so great, that Edward III. seized on their estates ; perhaps the necessity of furnishing him with money for his Flemish expedition, might have urged him to this step. They seem quickly to have repaired their loss ; for complaint was soon after made against them, for persisting in their practices. They were so opulent in the days of Henry VI. as to be able to furnish him with

* Holinshed, 702. — Strype's Stow, book ii. 105.

† Anderson, i. 406.

money, but they took care to get the customs mortgaged to them by way of security†. In this street they continued till the reign of queen Elizabeth; and to this day it is filled with the shops of numbers of eminent bankers.

The shop of the great sir Thomas Gresham stood in this street; it is now held by Messrs. Martin, bankers, who are still in possession of the original sign of that illustrious person, the *Grasshopper*. Was it mine, that honourable memorial of so great a predecessor should certainly receive the most ostentatious situation I could find.

The *Post-office*, which gives wings to the extension of commerce, stands in Lombard-street. The office of chief postmaster was erected in 1551*, but we are not told how this branch of business was managed; however, it was not regularly established till the year 1644, when Mr. Edmund Prideaux, the inland postmaster, was supposed to collect about five thousand pounds a year.

In 1654, the parliament farmed the post-of-

† Anderson, i. 231.

* The asterisks mark my authority as from Mr. Anderson; the rest are more doubtful, except from the words *net income*, in the next page.

fice to a Mr. Manly, for 100,000*l.* This farm included the postage of England, Scotland, and Ireland*.

On the Restoration, a general post-office was established in London, to be under the direction of a postmaster to be appointed by the king; and with powers to appoint post-houses in such parts of the country which were unprovided, both on the post and by-roads.

In 1663, when peace and a settled government was restored, they were farmed to Daniel O'Neil, esq. for 21,500*l.**

In 1674, they were raised to 43,000*l.*; and in 1685, the gross was estimated at 65,000*l.**

At the revolution, the post amounted to 76,319*l.*

In 1699, to 90,504*l.**

In 1710, to 111,461*l.* In 1715, the gross of the inland post came to 145,227*l.*

	£	s.	d.
In 1722, the gross amount was	201,804	1	8
Deduct for franked covers . . .	33,397	12	3
— for expence in ma- } nagement }	70,396	1	5
Net produce, Michaelmas 1722,	98,010	8	0

* See note in preceding page.

In 1744, to 198,226*l.*; but the total of the inland and foreign offices was, in that year, 235,490*l.*

The privilege of franking was first claimed by the commons in 1660, and allowed to both houses by the crown in the following year. The abuse must have been very great, it being asserted, that in 1763, the loss by that privilege amounted to 170,700*l.* I have seen in some private notes, that the gross of the year's revenue was 432,048*l.*; and from better authority, that the net income of 1763, the year previous to the first regulation of franking, was 97,833*l.*; which, in 1764, increased to 116,182*l.*

In the year ending in August, 1784, the net revenue amounted to 159,625*l.* The act for the second regulation took place in that month; in the following year it increased to 196,513*l.*, and in the succeeding, to 261,409*l.*; and in the last (1788) by reason of our national prosperity, to 280,000*l.*

Before the great fire, on the site of the present office stood a much-frequented tavern. When it was destroyed by that calamity, the convivial sir Robert Viner replaced it with a large house for his own habitation. Sir Robert, during his mayoralty, in 1675, was ho-

noured with the presence of his monarch, Charles II.; his majesty was for retiring, after staying the usual time, but sir Robert, filled with good liquor and loyalty, laid hold of the king, and swore, "Sir, you shall take t'other bottle. The airy monarch looked kindly at him over the shoulder, and with a smile, and graceful air, repeated this line of the old song:

"He that's drunk is as great as a king,"

and immediately turned back, and complied with his landlord*.

In digging a new sewer in Lombard-street, a few years ago, was discovered the remains of a Roman street, with numbers of coins, and several antique curiosities, some of great elegance. The beds through which the workmen sunk were four. The first consisted of factitious earth, about thirteen feet six inches thick, all accumulated since the desertion of the ancient street: the second of brick, two feet thick, the ruins of the buildings: the third of ashes only, three inches: the fourth of Roman pavement, both common and tessellated, over which the coins and

* Spectator, No. 462.

other antiquities were discovered. Beneath that was the original earth. This account was communicated to the Society of Antiquaries by doctor Combe, sir John Henneker, and Mr. John Jackson of Clement's-lane. The predominant articles were earthen-ware: and several were ornamented in the most elegant manner. A vase of red earth has on its surface a representation of a fight of men; some on horseback, others on foot; or perhaps a show of gladiators, as they all fought in pairs, and many of them naked: the combatants were armed with falchions; and small round shields, in the manner of the Thracians, the most esteemed of the gladiators. Others had spears, and others a kind of mace. A beautiful running foliage encompassed the bottom of this vessel. On the fragment of another were several figures. Among them appears Pan, with his *Pedum* or crook; and near to him one of the *lascivi satyri*, both in beautiful skipping attitudes. On the same piece are two tripods; round each is a serpent regularly twisted, and bringing its head over a bowl which fills the top. These seem (by the serpent) to have been dedicated to Apollo*,

* See similar in Monfaucon, tom. i. part ii. tab. iii.

who, as well as his son Æsculapius, presided over medicine. On the top of one of the tripods stands a man in full armour. Might not this vessel have been votive, made by order of a soldier restored to health by favour of the god; and to his active powers and enjoyment of rural pleasures, typified under the form of Pan and his nimble attendants? A plant extends along part of another compartment, possibly allusive to their medical virtues: and, to show that Bacchus was not forgotten, beneath lies a Thyrsus with a double head. All that appears of the two bowls I describe, have elegancies, which make it evident that Rome did not want its Wedgwood.

On another bowl was a free pattern of foliage. On others, or fragments, were objects of the chase, such as hares, part of a deer, and a boar, with human figures, dogs, and horses: all these pieces prettily ornamented. There were besides, some beads, made of earthen-ware, of the same form as those called the *ovum anguinum*, and by the Welsh, *glain naidr*; and numbers of coins in gold, silver, and brass, of Claudius, Nero, Galba, and other emperors, down to Constantine. The more curious parts of this interesting discovery are engraven in the

Archæologia, vol. viii. and merit the attention of the curious.

In the same street, towards *Birchin-lane*, stood the house of William de la Pole *, created in France, by Edward III. knight-banneret, with allowance out of the customs of Hull for the support of his dignity †. He was a great merchant, and, being very opulent, used to supply the king's pecuniary wants. He was at the same time the *king's-merchant*; an office that gave him the lucrative privilege of supplying his master with different sorts of merchandize, and also with money. The office seems to have been continued to later days, under another name: Henry VIII. had his *king's factor*, and sir Thomas Grehsam bore the title of the *queen's*. Richard (William's elder brother, a merchant at Hull) had the same employ under Edward III. who calls him *dilectus mercator Ricardus de la Pole Pincerna noster* ‡.

From William sprung a numerous race of nobility, distinguished by their ambition and unfortunate ends. His son Michael was created earl of Suffolk, yet continued in his office of

* Stow's Survaie, 384.

† Vincent's Discoverie, &c. 500. ‡ The same.

king's-merchant, and lived in his father's house*. He at length became lord high-chancellor; but, being accused of embezzling the public money, and divers other crimes, was banished the kingdom, and died at Paris in 1389, of a broken heart. His son Michael was restored, and died of a flux at the siege of Harfleur, in Sept. 1415; and in the very following month, his son and successor, another Michael, fell in the battle of Agincourt. His brother William succeeded, and was afterwards created marquis, and then duke of Suffolk. He was the favorite of the spirited Margaret of Anjou. He was of distinguished abilities, but by his insolence enraged the nobility so greatly, that on an accusation of his being the cause of the loss of France, they banished him the kingdom. On his passage to Calais, he was seized by a vessel sent expressly to intercept him, and was brought into Dover, beheaded by the captain of the ship in the cock-boat, without ceremony, and his body flung upon the sands, where it was found by his chaplain, and buried at Wingfield in Suffolk. The nobility dreaded his return, therefore took this method to free them-

* Stow's Surveye, 384.

selves from so formidable an enemy*. John, his son, succeeded him. Finally, his son Edmund, who was condemned for a murder in the time of Henry VII., received his pardon: but in the following reign was, in 1513, executed for treason; but his chief crime with that tyrant seems his relation to the house of York, his mother being sister to Edward IV. The venerable Margaret countess of Salisbury was barbarously brought to the block for the same reason; her son, cardinal Pole, would not have been spared, could Henry have got him into his power. Henry Pole, lord Montacute, suffered for corresponding with him: and thus ended this ill-fated race.

In *Swithin's-lane*, which runs between Lombard-street and Cannon-street, stood *Tortington*, the house of the prior of Tortington in Suffolk. It was the house of the Veres earls of Oxford, in 1598, and called *Oxford-place*.

Adjacent to the garden stood what Stow calls two other faire houses. In one dwelt Sir Richard Empson, in the other Edmund Dudley; the cruel instruments of oppression under the

* See the curious particulars in sir John Fenn's, i. 39, 48, truly stated. See also Shakespeare's Henry VI. part ii. act iv. scene 1. and the account of the prophecy, in act i. scene 4.

royal miser Henry VII. Each of them had a door into the garden, where they met and had private conferences*; probably to concert the best means of filling their master's pockets by the rigorous enforcement of penal statutes, or the revival of obsolete laws: or by assisting in any mean bargain which Henry chose to make.

In Fenchurch-street, a continuation of the former, stood *Denmark-house*. In it was lodged the ambassador sent, in 1557, as Holinshed expresses, from the emperor of Cathaie, Muscovia, and Russeland. This was in consequence of the new discovery of the *White Sea* by Chancellor: for till that time Russia was quite impervious by any other way. The merchants were well acquainted with the importance of the new commerce: they met him at Tottenham with all the splendour that was likely to make an impression on the mind of a barbarian. They were dressed in velvet coats, and rich chains of gold, and bore all his expences. Lord Montacute, with the queen's pensioners, met him at Islington; and the lord mayor and aldermen, in scarlet robes, received him at Smithfield, and from thence rode with

* Stow's *Survaie*, 427.

him to this house, then “Maister Dimmock’s, in Fenchurch Street*.” Our Russian company was formed three years previous to the arrival of this ambassador, but its commerce was carried on with redoubled success after the Russians were thus made acquainted with our wealth and power.

In the same street was *Northumberland-place*, the site of the house of Henry earl of Northumberland, towards the end of the reign of Henry VI.

Ironmongers’-hall is a great ornament to this street ; as it is an honour to its architect. It was built in 1748, and is the place of business and festivity of that great and opulent company. Maitland tells us, they have the happy ability of disposing annually, of eighteen hundred pounds for charitable uses.

In this street is the *Hudson’s-bay House*, the vast repository of the northern furs of America, which are lodged here till they are sold, and exported to various parts of the world, even to the distant China. In this hall is a vast pair of horns of the moose deer, weighing fifty-six pounds ; and in another room, the picture

* Holinshed, 1132.

of an elk, the European moose, killed in the presence of Charles XI. of Sweden, which weighed twelve hundred and twenty-nine pounds.

I should speak with the prejudices of a true Englishman, was I to dignify the *Thames* with the title of the chief of rivers. I must qualify my patriotism with its just claim to that of first of island-rivers. But in respect to our rival kingdom, it must yield the palm to the Garonne, only we must not make comparison of length of course. The contracted space of our island must limit that species of grandeur; but there are none, in any part of Europe, which can boast of more utility of bringing farther from the ocean the largest commercial ships; nor are there any which can bring the riches of the universe to their very capital. The ships of the Seine discharge themselves at Havre; those of the Loire reach no farther than Port-Lannai, far below its emporium Nantes; and the Garonne conveys no farther than Pouillac the full-loaden ships: there they are obliged to be eased of part of their cargoes, before they can reach the opulent Bourdeaux.

The *Thames* rises beneath Sufferton-hill, just within the borders of Gloucestershire, a

little to the south-west of Cirencester, which it instantly quits, and enters for a short space into the county of Wilts, bends a little into it, and re-enters its parent province near Lechlade, where (by means of locks) it first becomes navigable, and, as is said, for barges of seventy tons. It here leaves Gloucestershire, and becomes the whole southern boundary of Oxfordshire, or the northern of Berkshire, and from thence is the southern limit of Buckinghamshire. At Boulter's-lock, above Maidenhead, in that county, is the last lock; from thence to the sea it requires no farther art to aid its navigation. At a small distance from Windsor, it divides Middlesex from Surry; just above Kingston it feels the last feeble efforts of a tide; from thence is a most important increase: just below London-bridge, eighteen feet: and at Deptford, twenty. The preceding, brings ships of three hundred and fifty tons, drawing sixteen feet water, to the custom-house; the last, those of a thousand tons, even the largest, drawing twenty-three feet, which import the treasures of India. This noble river continues fresh as low as Woolwich, and even there is brackish only at spring-tides. Thus at our capital it is perfectly pure, salu-

brious, and subservient to vast articles of commerce, with which that stupendous city abounds.

The whole course of the Thames, to its mouth, is considerably above two hundred miles. I contract its length very considerably, in comparison of the usual estimation, for I limit its mouth to the spot between the west end of the isle of Grain, in Kent, and the eastern part of that of Canvey in Essex. From those places to the Naze in the latter county, and the North Foreland in that of Kent (which have hitherto been considered as its entrance), it ceases to flow in a single channel; it becomes a vast estuary filled with sandbanks, many of which appear above water at the recess of the tides.

The whole course of the river is through a country which furnishes every idea of opulence, fertility, and rural elegance: meadows rich in hay, or covered with numerous herds; gentle risings, and hanging woods; embellished with palaces, magnificent seats, or beautiful villas, a few the hereditary mansions of our ancient gentry, but the greater part property transferred, by the effects of vice and dissipation, to the owners of honest wealth, acquired by commerce, or industrious professions, or the

dear purchase of cankering rapine. Its course furnishes few sublime scenes, excepting the high chalky cliffs near Henley; all its banks are replete with native softness, improved by art, and the fullest cultivation.

I do not recollect that it flows in any part over a rocky channel; its bottom is either gravelly or clayey, according to the nature of the soil through which it meanders. This gives growth to the abundance of weeds with which it is in many parts filled; and these prove the safety of multitudes of fishes, and preserve them from being extirpated by the unbridled ravages of the poachers. The Thames has, between its source and Woolwich, every species found in the British rivers, except the *burbot*, the *loche*, the *cobities tænia*, or *spiny loche*, of late years discovered in the river Trent, and the small species of *salmon*, the *samlet*. The salmon and the shad, are fishes of passage; the first appears in the river about the middle of February, is in great estimation, and sells at a vast price; their capture is prohibited from the 24th of August to the 11th of November. The shad arrives the latter end of May, or beginning of June, and is a very coarse fish; it sometimes grows to the weight of eight pounds,

but the usual size is from four to five. This is the fish which Du Hamel describes as the true *alose* of the French*; but the fishermen of the Thames have another they call *allis*, much lesser than the former, with a row of spots from the gills along the sides, just beneath the back, more or less in number; this the French call *le feinte*†. I suspect that the name *allis* is misapplied to this species, and that it ought to be applied to the great or common shad, being an evident corruption from the French name *alose*: is the same with that of the Severn, but is rarely taken here: but neither of them are admitted to good tables.

The lesser lamprey, the *petromyzon fluviatilis* of Linnæus, is a small fish of great and national importance, and is taken in amazing quantities between Battersea-reach and Taplow-mills (a space of about fifty miles) and sold to the Dutch for the cod and other fishe-

* Du Hamel, ii. 316, tab. i. fig. 1.

† Du Hamel, ii. 321, tab. 1. fig. 5.—Bloche, ii. tab. xxx. gives the figure of the *feinte*; but is of opinion that the spots vanish with age. For my part, I have not had opportunities of frequent examination of these fishes, but I incline to think they are different, as the *feintes* appear in spawn at the length of sixteen inches, which is their largest size.

ries; 450,000 have been sold in one season for that purpose: the price has been forty shillings the thousand: this year the Dutch have given three pounds, and the English from five to eight pounds; the former having prudently contracted for three years at a certain price. Formerly the Thames has furnished from a million to twelve hundred thousand annually. An attempt was lately made in parliament to fling the turbot fishery entirely into British hands, by laying ten shillings a ton duty on every foreign vessel importing turbot into Great Britain; but the plan was found to be derived from selfish motives, and even on national injustice: the far greater quantity of turbot being discovered to be taken on the coasts of Holland and Flanders*.

The fish of the Thames which come as low as London, and beyond it as far as the water is fresh, are the barbel (which is never seen below the bridge) a few roach, and dace, bleak in great plenty, and eels extend far down the river; small flounders are found as far as Fulham, brought up by the tides, and continue stationary. Several of the lesser species of

* See Supplement to the Arctic Zoology.

whales have been known to stray up the Thames ; a kind of grampus, with a high dorsal fin, has been taken within the mouth of the river. It proved the *spekhugger* of *Strom. Hist. Sondmoer*, i. 309 ; the *delphinus orca* of *Fabricius. Faun. Groenl.* p. 46. Its length was twenty-four feet. Mr. J. Hunter has given a good figure in *Phil. Trans.* vol. lxxvii. tab. xvi.

Another, which is engraved by the same gentleman, in plate xvii. was of the length of eighteen feet, thick in proportion to its length, and very deep bellied. I think it a new species.

A species allied to the *delphinus*, *delphis*, or dolphin, twenty-one feet long, was taken in 1783 above London-bridge. The nose is protracted and slender, like that of the dolphin, but much shorter. It differs from the bottle-nosed whale of Mr. Dale, in several particulars. The nose does not turn up at the end ; the body is slender, the dorsal fin placed near the tail ; and, as Mr. Hunter observes, has a very specific mark, two very small pointed teeth in the fore part of the upper jaw. This is engraved in plate xx. of the same volume of the *Transactions* ; and has furnished a second new species discovered by our great anatomist.

The common porpoises frequently run up the

Thames in numbers, and afford an eager diversion to the watermen.

I will conclude this account with the fine lines written by sir John Denham on this our celebrated river ; and in a manner worthy of the greatness of the subject :

My eye descending from the hill surveys
Where Thames among the wanton valleys strays ;
Thames, the most lov'd of all the ocean's sons
By his old sire, to his embraces runs,
Hasting to pay his tribute to the sea,
Like mortal life to meet eternity,
Tho' with those streams he no resemblance hold,
Whose foam is amber, and their gravel gold.
His genuine and less guilty wealth t' explore,
Search not his bottom, but survey his shore ;
O'er which he kindly spreads his spacious wing,
And hatches plenty for th' ensuing spring ;
Nor then destroys it with too fond a stay,
Like mothers which their infants overlay ;
Nor with a sudden and impetuous wave,
Like profuse kings, resumes the wealth he gave :
No unexpected inundations spoil
The mower's hopes, nor mock the plowman's toil ;
But godlike his unwearied bounty flows,
First loves to do, then loves the good he does.
Nor are his blessings to his banks confin'd,
But free and common as the sea or wind,
When he to boast or to disperse his stores,
Full of the tributes of his grateful shores,

Visits the world, and in his flying tow'rs
Brings home to us, and makes both Indies ours;
Finds wealth where 'tis, bestows it where it wants,
Cities in deserts, woods in cities plants:
So that to us no thing, no place is strange,
While his fair bosom is the world's exchange.

O could I flow like thee, and make thy stream
My great example, as it is my theme!
Tho' deep, yet clear; tho' gentle, yet not dull;
Strong, without rage; without o'erflowing, full.
Heav'n her Eridanus no more shall boast,
Whose fame in thine, like lesser currents, lost.

APPENDIX.

Page 46, Vol. II.

Paraphrase of the 137th Psalm: alluding to the Captivity and Ill-treatment of the Welsh Bards by King Edward I.—Vide E. Evans.

SAD near the willowy Thames we stood,
And curs'd th' inhospitable flood.
Tears, such as patriots weep, 'gan flow,
The silent eloquence of woe,
When Cambria rush'd into our mind,
And pity with just vengeance join'd ;
Vengeance, to injur'd Cambria due,
And pity, O ye bards ! to you.
Silent, neglected, and unstrung,
Our harps upon the willows hung,
That " softly sweet, in Cambrian measures,
" Us'd to soothe our souls to pleasures ;"
When lo ! th' insulting foe appears,
And bids us dry our useless tears.
" Resume your harps" (the Saxons cry)
" And change your grief to songs of joy ;
" Such as old Taliessin sang,
" What time your native mountains rang

“ With his rude strains, and all around
“ Seas, rivers, woods, return’d the sound.”

What! shall the Saxons hear us sing?
With Cambrian strains your vallies ring?
No—let old Conwy cease to flow!
Back to her source Sabrina go!
Let huge Plinlimmon hide his head;
Or let the tyrant strike me dead,
If I attempt to sing a song,
Unmindful of my country’s wrong!—
What! shall an haughty king command
A Cambrian hymn, in a strange land?
May my right hand first wither’d be,
Or e’er I touch a string for thee,
Proud monarch! nay, may instant death
Arrest my tongue, and stop my breath,
If I attempt to sing a song,
Unmindful of my country’s wrong!

Thou God of vengeance! dost thou sleep,
When thy insulted Druids weep,
The victors’ jest, the Saxons’ scorn,
Unheard, unpity’d, and forlorn?
Bare thy red arm, thou God of ire,
And set their boasted Tower on fire!—
Remember our inhuman foes,
When the first Edward furious rose,
And, like a whirlwind’s rapid sway,
Swept armies, cities, bards away!

High on a rock, o’er Conwy’s flood,
The last surviving poet stood,

And curs'd the tyrant as he pass'd,
With cruel pomp, and murd'rous haste.
What now avail our tuneful strains,
'Midst savage taunts and biting chains?
Say, will the lark, imprison'd, sing
So sweet, as when on tow'ring wing
He wakes the songsters of the sky,
And tunes his notes to liberty?
Ah no! the Cambrian lyre no more
Shall sweetly sound on Arvon's shore:
No more the silver harp be won,
Ye muses, by your favourite son;
(Or I, even I, by glory fir'd,
Had to the honour'd prize aspir'd.)
No more shall Mona's oaks be spar'd,
Nor Druids' circle be rever'd;
On Conwy's banks, and Menai's streams,
The solitary bittern screams;
Where Lewellyn kept his court,
Wolves and ill-omen'd birds resort:
There oft, at midnight's silent hour,
Near yon ivy-mantled tow'r,
By the glow-worm's yellow fire,
Tuning his romantic lyre,
Gray's pale spectre seems to sing—
“ RUIN SEIZE THEE, RUTHLESS KING !”

*A General Bill of all the Christnings and Burials
from December 11, 1787, to December 16, 1788.
According to the Report made to the King's Most
Excellent Majesty, by the Company of Parish-
Clerks of London, &c.*

	<i>Bur.</i>
St. Alban in Wood-street	15
Alhallows Barkin	85
Alhallows in Bread-street	9
Alhallows the Great	39
Alhallows in Honey-lane	
Alhallows the Less	7
Alhallows in Lombard-street	9
Alhallows Staining	11
Alhallows on London Wall	23
St. Alphage near Sion College	17
St. Andrew Hubbard	
St. Andrew Undershaft	13
St. Andrew by the Wardrobe	23
St. Ann within Aldersgate	33
St. Ann in Black Friars	66
St. Anthony, vulgarly Antholin	8
St. Augustin, vulgarly Austin	13
St. Bartholomew by Exchange	6
St. Benedict, vulgarly Bennet Fink	11
St. Bennet Gracechurch	9
St. Bennet at Paul's Wharf	35
St. Bennet Sherehog	
St. Botolph at Billingsgate	5
Christ Church parish	115

	<i>Bur.</i>
St. Christopher's parish	
St. Clement near Eastcheap	9
St. Dionis Backchurch	15
St. Dunstan in the East	46
St. Edmund the King	10
St. Ethelburga's parish	13
St. Faith under St. Paul's	31
St. Gabriel in Fenchurch-street	10
St. George in Botolph-lane	7
St. Gregory by St. Paul's	56
St. Helen near Bishopsgate	9
St. James in Duke's Place	7
St. James at Garlickhith	8
St. John Baptist by Dowgate	15
St. John the Evangelist	
St. John Zachary	6
St. Katherine Coleman	21
St. Katherine Creechurch	34
St. Laurence Jewry	19
St. Laurence Pountney	11
St. Leonard in Eastcheap	2
St. Leonard in Foster-lane	
St. Magnus by London-bridge	5
St. Margaret in Lothbury	22
St. Margaret Moses	
St. Margaret in New Fish-street	6
St. Margaret Pattens	1
St. Martin in Ironmonger-lane	1
St. Martin within Ludgate	11
St. Martin Orgars	6

	<i>Bur.</i>
St. Martin Outwich	6
St. Martin Vintrey	28
St. Mary Abchurch	12
St. Mary Aldermanbury	24
St. Mary Aldermary	5
St. Mary Le Bow in Cheapside	19
St. Mary Bothaw at Dowgate	2
St. Mary Colechurch	1
St. Mary Hill near Billingsgate	30
St. Mary Magdalen in Milk-street	
St. Mary Magdalen Old Fish-street	27
St. Mary Mounthaw	14
St. Mary Somerset	19
St. Mary Staining	
St. Mary Woolchurch	
St. Mary Woolnoth	18
St. Matthew in Friday-street	1
St. Michael Bassishaw	11
St. Michael in Cornhill	9
St. Michael in Crooked-lane	22
St. Michael at Queenhith	31
St. Michael Le Quern	1
St. Michael Royal	6
St. Michael in Wood-street	
St. Mildred in Bread-street	2
St. Mildred in the Poultry	10
St. Nicholas Acons	1
St. Nicholas Coleabby	6
St. Nicholas Olave	8
St. Olave in Hart-street	38

	<i>Bur.</i>
St. Olave in the Old Jewry	5
St. Olave in Silver-street	18
St. Pancras in Pancras-lane	
St. Peter in Cheapside	10
St. Peter in Cornhill	16
St. Peter near Paul's Wharf	12
St. Peter Poor in Broad-street	8
St. Stephen in Coleman-street	50
St. Stephen in Walbrook	14
St. Swithin at London Stone	7
St. Thomas the Apostle	4
Trinity Parish	8
St. Vedast, alias Foster	10

Christned in the 97 Parishes within the Walls, 1148.

Buried, 1446.

St. Andrew in Holborn	760
St. Bartholomew the Great	40
St. Bartholomew the Less	11
St. Botolph by Aldersgate	156
St. Botolph by Aldgate	358
St. Botolph without Bishopsgate	306
St. Bridget, vulgarly St. Brides	175
St. Dunstan in the West	104
St. George in Southwark	298
St. Giles by Cripplegate	230
St. John in Southwark	355
St. Olave in Southwark	320
St. Saviour in Southwark	439
St. Sepulchre's Parish	332

	<i>Bur.</i>
St. Thomas in Southwark	140
Trinity in the Minories	16

Christned in the 16 Parishes without the Walls, 4791.
Buried; 4040.

St. Ann in Middlesex	163
Christ Church in Surry	212
Christ Church in Middlesex	549
St. Dunstan at Stepney	406
St. George in Bloomsbury	222
St. George in Middlesex	550
St. George by Queen's square	217
St. Giles in the Fields	1180
St. James at Clerkenwell	778
St. John at Clerkenwell	56
St. John at Hackney	233
St. John at Wapping	127
St. Katherine near the Tower	148
St. Leonard in Shoreditch	750
St. Luke in Middlesex	509
St. Mary at Islington	220
St. Mary at Lambeth	680
St. Mary Magdalen Bermondsey	525
St. Mary at Newington	366
St. Mary at Rotherhith	216
St. Mary at Whitechapel	748
St. Matthew at Bethnal Green	149
St. Paul at Shadwell	407

Christned in the 23 Out Parishes in Middlesex and
Surry, 8980.—Buried, 9411.

	<i>Bur.</i>
St. Ann in Westminster	448
St. Clement Danes	326
St. George by Hanover square	1128
St. James in Westminster	838
St. John Evangelist in Westminster ..	152
St. Margaret in Westminster	766
St. Martin in the Fields	858
St. Mary le Strand	98
The Precinct of the Savoy	69
St. Paul in Covent Garden	117

Christned in the 10 Parishes in the City and Liberties
of Westminster, 4640.—Buried, 4800.

The Diseases and Casualties this Year.

Abortive and Stillborn	713	Canker	
Abscess	11	Chicken Pox	2
Aged	1424	Childbed	197
Ague	7	Cold	6
Apoplexy and Sud- } denly	229	Colick, Gripes, and } Twisting of the } Guts	14
Asthma and Phthi- } sick	488	Consumption	5086
Bedridden	6	Convulsions	4485
Bleeding	5	Cough, and Hoop- } ing Cough }	298
Bloody Flux	1	Diabetes	
Bursten and Rupture	12	Dropsy	1021
Cancer	76		

Evil	11	Measles	55
Fever, Malignant	2769	Miscarriage	
Fever, Scarlet		Mortification	218
Fever, Spotted		Palsy	62
Fever, and Purples		Pleurisy	23
Fistula	2	Quinsy	1
Flux	14	Rash	3
French Pox	45	Rheumatism	
Gout	58	Rising of the Lights	
Gravel, Stone, and	59	Scald Head	
Strangury		Scurvy	10
Grief	5	Small Pox	1101
Head-ach		Sore Throat	13
Headmouldshot,	44	Sores and Ulcers ..	18
Horshoehead,		St. Anthony's Fire ..	2
and Water in the		Stoppage in the Sto-	9
Head		mach	
Jaundies	53	Surfeit	3
Imposthume	1	Swelling	
Inflammation	229	Teeth	446
Itch		Thrush	34
Leprosy		Tympany	1
Lethargy	2	Vomiting and Loose-	}
Livergrown	5	ness	
Lunatick	46	Worms	7

Broken Limbs 3
Bruised

Burnt 13 || Drowned | 119 |

Excessive Drinking	9	Murdered	2
Executed*	7	Overlaid	3
Found Dead	12	Poisoned	2
Fractured	1	Scalded	5
Frighted		Smothered	1
Killed by Falls and several other Ac- cidents	67	Starved	5
Killed themselves	13	Suffocated	3
Licked by a mad Dog	1	Total	266

Christned	{ Males 9892 Females 9667 }	In all 19,559
Buried	{ Males 9962 Females 9735 }	In all 19,697

Whereof have died,

Under two years of age	6138	Eighty and ninety	460
Between two and five	1522	Ninety and a hundred	55
Five and ten	667	A hundred	7
Ten and twenty	866	A hundred and one	2
Twenty and thirty	1552	A hundred and two	1
Thirty and forty	2015	A hundred and three	
Forty and fifty	2086	A hundred and four	
Fifty and sixty	1698	A hundred and five	
Sixty and seventy	1481	A hundred and six	1
Seventy and eighty	1145	A hundred and thir- teen	1

Increased in the burials this year, 348.

* There have been executed in Middlesex and Surry, 35; of which number (7 only) have been reported as such within the Bills of Mortality.

It is the opinion of Mr. Richardson, who has served the parish offices, that there are near as many buried from London, at different burial-grounds, without as within the above bills, unnoticed here. —Burying grounds without the bills, close to or in London:—Bunhill-fields—Lady Huntingdon's, Spa-fields—Tottenham-court road. Many more such, besides Marylebone and Pancras.

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